

Hostility to increase, say Shi'ites

GHAZIYA (Reuters) — As the Israel Defence Forces packs up to leave Lebanon's Shouf Mountains, leaders of the Shi'ite majority in the south are warning that Israel faces mounting hostility if it plans to stay there.

"The troubles will really begin for the Israelis after the partial withdrawal," said Mohammed Ghaddar, a leader of the Shi'ite paramilitary organization Amal (Hope).

"Amal is ready to take a decision against the Israelis," he said in an interview at his office in the coastal town of Ghaziya, 50 kilometres south of Beirut. "After the partial withdrawal, they will no longer be on a peace mission — they will be an army of occupation."

"The Israelis say, 'we want to get rid of the terrorists.' That's all right with us — so long as they leave eventually," said Ghaddar, a moderate in the Amal leadership and acting spokesman in Southern Lebanon.

"They say the partial withdrawal is the first step to a full withdrawal. But they are doing the opposite of what they say: They are building new roads, defences and fixed houses — not for one winter but for many winters."

Amal was formed to fight for Lebanon's Shi'ites — the biggest and poorest of the country's patchwork of religious communities.

Though it supports Iran's Islamic revolution and denounces collaboration with Israel, it has yet to tell its men to fight the invaders. But the Amal official said ties between the Shi'ites and the Israelis were strained and such a decision would be close if the Israelis did not say when they would quit.

Already, the Israelis are tightening their grip on the south, arresting Amal militants and trade unionists and reinforcing the militia of Major Sa'ad Haddad, whose men are armed and paid by Israel.

Ghaddar said Israel was holding about 32 Amal officials on suspicion of planning attacks.

"Every time they arrest people and beat them, there is more hatred for the Israelis," Ghaddar said. "They are stirring up the people — we in Amal don't need to stir them."

In Beirut, meanwhile, a shadowy guerrilla group said it would increase its attacks on Israeli forces in Lebanon despite the partial withdrawal plan and the new defences being built in the south.

The National Resistance Front said: "We shall step up our military operations and our guerrillas will penetrate all (Israel's) defence lines however great they are."

The statement claimed responsibility for planting a bomb which exploded yesterday morning as an IDF patrol was passing near the village of Aitah.

IDF redeployment won't be affected

Jerusalem Post Staff

Defence Minister Moshe Arens said yesterday that Prime Minister Menachem Begin's decision to resign would not have any effect on the Israel Defence Forces' plans to redeploy in Lebanon along the Awali River.

A special announcement published by the minister's bureau said the redeployment would go ahead as planned.

The redeployment will take place in the very near future, observers said. They expect it to be completed before the High Holidays.

Beirut liaison office moving to new site

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The offices of the Israel Liaison Mission in Beirut are moving from a southeastern suburb of Beirut to a location in a northern seaside suburb.

The decision on the move from Yaze, near the Lebanese president's residence and the defence ministry at Ba'abda, to the new location was finalized last week during a visit to Beirut by Foreign Ministry Director-General David Kimche.

The new site is located in a fully Christian-controlled area north of Beirut, quite a distance from the Shouf which have been the scene of continuous clashes between Druse and Phalange militia units.



Prime Minister Menachem Begin walks to his car, accompanied by his press adviser Uri Porat, after announcing his plans to resign at yesterday's cabinet sessions. (Isaac Harari)

NEWS ANALYSIS/Asher Wallfish

'I can't do the job the way I ought to'—Begin

Prime Minister Menachem Begin told some of his ministerial colleagues after the dramatic cabinet session in which he announced his intention to resign: "I feel I cannot carry on shouldering my responsibilities, with things as they are, the way I would like to and the way I ought to."

This was the closest Begin came to explaining his desire to quit. During the cabinet session, when he made the first announcement, he was not at all explicit.

The prime minister reached his decision without consulting any members of his family or associates. Shortly before the weekly cabinet session started, he confided in his bureau head Yehiel Kadishai, in cabinet secretary Dan Meridor, and in his closest confidante from the pre-state period, Economic Minister Ya'acov Meridor.

When Begin made the announcement, which he called "personal," since it did not relate to the cabinet agenda, he said that by informing the cabinet he had made the first move in the procedural process of resignation.

A deathly hush fell over the meeting, lasting for several minutes. Apart from those informed beforehand, nobody expected the

bombshell and there was general disarray.

Journalists failed to get neat explanations of Begin's decision when they pressed his cabinet colleagues later in the day. Some ministers and aides said they did not know exactly, while those who claimed they did know, added that they preferred to keep silent for the time being.

The consensus, however, was that Begin was fed up with the criticism showered over the past few months on the government as a whole, and on himself in particular.

One of the prime minister's associates told *The Jerusalem Post* privately: "There is a limit to the amount of slanging a man can take in the local and foreign media, in the Knesset, in the coalition, in the Likud, and lately even inside Herut."

The consensus was that in recent months Begin had come to see some of his fellow-ministers at their worst. He had come to see ministers relating to crucial economic issues as egoistic individuals instead of as a team. The consensus was that Begin could no longer stomach the malfunctioning of his cabinet.

The prime minister was dissatisfied by a situation where he found himself on a different side of

(Continued on back page)

Coalition leaders hope for change of heart Begin's resignation almost sure despite last-minute pleas

Labour Party adopts wait-and-see stance

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Labour Party Secretary-General Haim Bar-Lev said yesterday that the Alignment would try to form a wide coalition, if President Chaim Herzog invited party leader Shimon Peres to form a government.

After high-level consultations in Tel Aviv, the Alignment resolved not to react officially until Prime Minister Menachem Begin submits his resignation to the president. However, Bar-Lev answered questions put to him by *Kol Yisrael*.

Bar-Lev said that there is no need to rush into early elections. It will be far better to set up an alternative government which could lead the country for the next two years, he said.

Bar-Lev expressed confidence that Peres could form a government, "provided the recent statements of a number of MKs are reliable."

Taking part in the Alignment consultations were Peres, Bar-Lev, former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, party whip Moshe Shahal, Mapam Secretary-General Victor Shemtov and Shulamit Aloni of the Citizens Rights Movement.

Labour Party sources would not name the MKs who could be expected to switch partners. They said

deals could be struck with the National Religious Party, Tami and even some Liberal Party members.

Some of these MKs owe allegiance to Begin, but not the Likud as a whole. "If someone other than Begin heads the list, it will be a new ball game," said one source.

Peres' long-standing rivalry with Rabin did not seem to be a factor in the latest development. The two have agreed that if Labour forms a government now, Peres will head it. A new contest will be held only before the next elections, it was agreed. A well-placed source said yesterday that Rabin stood by this agreement.

MK Mordechai Virshubski (Shinui) said yesterday the best solution would be advancing the elections.

He indicated Shinui may join an alternative government until the elections, but on condition it breaks with the Likud's settlement policy and what he called "religious coercion."

"What is happening today is a *de jure* expression of what has been happening in fact for a long time," he said. "It's been a long time since this government functioned as a government."

PM's colleagues plead for 'time to work things out'

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Confidantes of the prime minister, who are absolutely convinced that he intends resigning today, nevertheless asked for the additional day's respite to deal with the implications of such a resignation.

The problem as they see it is that, if a caretaker government is set up until the next elections, which will be held only in the spring, Begin will have to head it and thus be stuck for another 6-8 months.

They maintain that "Begin has had it" and "wants out."

One possibility is to "lock in" all the constituents of the present coalition by having Begin named caretaker prime minister, who would then hand over power to someone else as acting prime

minister, much like Yitzhak Rabin did with Shimon Peres in 1977.

A senior Agudat Yisrael spokesman last night told *The Jerusalem Post* that under no circumstances would the Aguda stay in the present coalition under a different prime minister.

"It's either new elections or a shift to a Labour-led coalition for us," he said.

At most, he added, Aguda would be willing to go along with a caretaker government in which Begin would be prime minister but would hand over the day-to-day running of the government to Yitzhak Shamir.

Jerusalem Post Staff

Senior colleagues of Prime Minister Menachem Begin, who met last night with the premier and his son Binyamin Ze'ev, felt that his decision to resign was final and would not be reversed. Deputy Finance Minister Haim Kaulfman told *The Jerusalem Post* that Begin's son had given him the definite impression that his father would not change his mind.

Other party leaders hoped that the prime minister had left the door open for a last minute change of heart. They believed that while Begin's decision to resign, announced dramatically at yesterday's regular weekly cabinet meeting, was sincere, the public demonstrations of support for his leadership would swing the balance against his presenting his resignation to the president.

Economic Coordination Minister Ya'acov Meridor, Justice Minister Moshe Nissim, Health Minister Eliezer Shostak, MKs Ehud Olmert, Akiva Nof, Michael Dekel and Eliahu Ben-Elissar were among the prime minister's visitors at his Jerusalem home last night.

Shostak said that, in view of the public reaction, the night would be a decisive one for the country. Nissim expected a decision by morning and Meridor remarked: "It might be all right."

Interviewed on Israel Television, Olmert said he thought the prime minister had underestimated the depth of the feeling for him among the public and the political leadership.

Begin was under overwhelming pressure from all sectors of public opinion to stay on, said Olmert, as members of the Jerusalem branch of Herut, demonstrating outside Begin's house were joined by supporters from all over the country. (See related story.)

At Metzudat Ze'ev, Herut Party headquarters in Tel Aviv, MK Micha Reiser explained that Herut was not organizing support for the prime minister, but "merely assisting and channeling the spontaneous outburst of public support for Begin," such as the public vigil outside his house and the special stands set up for signing petitions calling on him to remain.

"If we manage to express 5 per cent of the feeling for the prime minister among the public, we will have succeeded," said Reiser.

From the moment cabinet secretary Dan Meridor announced the prime minister's intention to resign at midday yesterday, ministers and coalition leaders stressed that the last word had not been said.

Deputy Prime Minister David Levy suggested that rejoicing by political opponents and grief on the part of government supporters was premature.

Asked whether he regarded him-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Cabinet followed agreed agenda until...

Jerusalem Post Staff

Prime Minister Menachem Begin's announcement that he intended to resign shocked cabinet ministers and close aides, cabinet sources told. *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday. Until the dramatic announcement, the cabinet meeting was held according to the agreed agenda.

The appointment of Pessah Gruper as agriculture minister was confirmed — an appointment which will not go through if Begin goes ahead with his resignation. Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir reported on his talks with Liberian President Samuel Doe and Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i reported on his visit to Egypt.

President Hosni Mubarak said the president had told him that Begin was a man of his word.

According to reliable sources, a number of ministers who have recently been critical of the prime minister, hurried to recent and give Begin their assurances of support, after his announcement.

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir said that Begin's announcement would "please all enemies of Israel."

Immediately after the meeting, cabinet secretary Dan Meridor made a short announcement on Begin's decision to resign. He gave no details as to the prime minister's reasons, and no reasons were stated in any official announcement.

Rival groups clamour outside Begin's house

By ROBERT ROSENBERG

Jerusalem Post Reporter

While the politicians gathered at Prime Minister Menachem Begin's home last night, pleading with him not to resign, the people outside spoke in strident terms about Begin's opponents and in loving terms about the man they called "the king of Israel."

Deputy Agriculture Minister Michael Dekel, a longtime Begin associate, came out of his meeting with Begin to tell Herut activists from Jerusalem that "the politicians won't make the difference, the people will."

In the background, the people — about 500 of them — were calling the 50 Peace Now demonstrators down the street terrorists and Labour Party chairman Shimon

Peres a traitor. That theme alternated with songs about "Begin, Begin, none is better" and "Begin, King of Israel." Journalists were cursed for "making Begin feel sad with all the bad news and lies."

For many outside the premier's office, the scene was reminiscent of the 1981 election campaign. As happened then, the shouts of "Begin, Begin" were accompanied by fist-shaking, cursing and spitting at nearby anti-Begin demonstrators, until the police separated the groups.

The politicians began arriving at about 5 p.m., with Agudat Yisrael MK Avraham Shapira the first to see the premier. He was followed by Dekel, Economic Coordination Minister Ya'acov Meridor, MK

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

Kollek: Don't delay local elections

By MICHAEL EILAN

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek yesterday called on the country's politicians to ensure that Prime Minister Menachem Begin's plans to resign do not interfere with the municipal elections on October 25.

Since Begin's announcement yesterday, there has been speculation that the local elections might be rescheduled to coincide with national elections.

Kollek said that any delay would "harm democracy," since the elections were already postponed a year ago, and a further delay would impair the functioning of the country's municipalities and local authorities.

Kollek said that if there is a need for Knesset elections, it would be better to have them on the same day as the municipal elections. This would make for a short and clean campaign, said Kollek.

He said that the country was, in any case, in a state of confusion because of the political and economic situations. Tampering with the local elections could only increase this confusion, he added.

U.S. Marines fight militiamen in Beirut

BEIRUT (Reuters) — U.S. Marines yesterday fought a 90-minute gun battle with Lebanese militiamen, apparently Shi'ite Muslims, a Marines spokesman said.

It was the first time the U.S. forces were involved in a battle since their arrival here last year as part of a four-nation Western peacekeeping force.

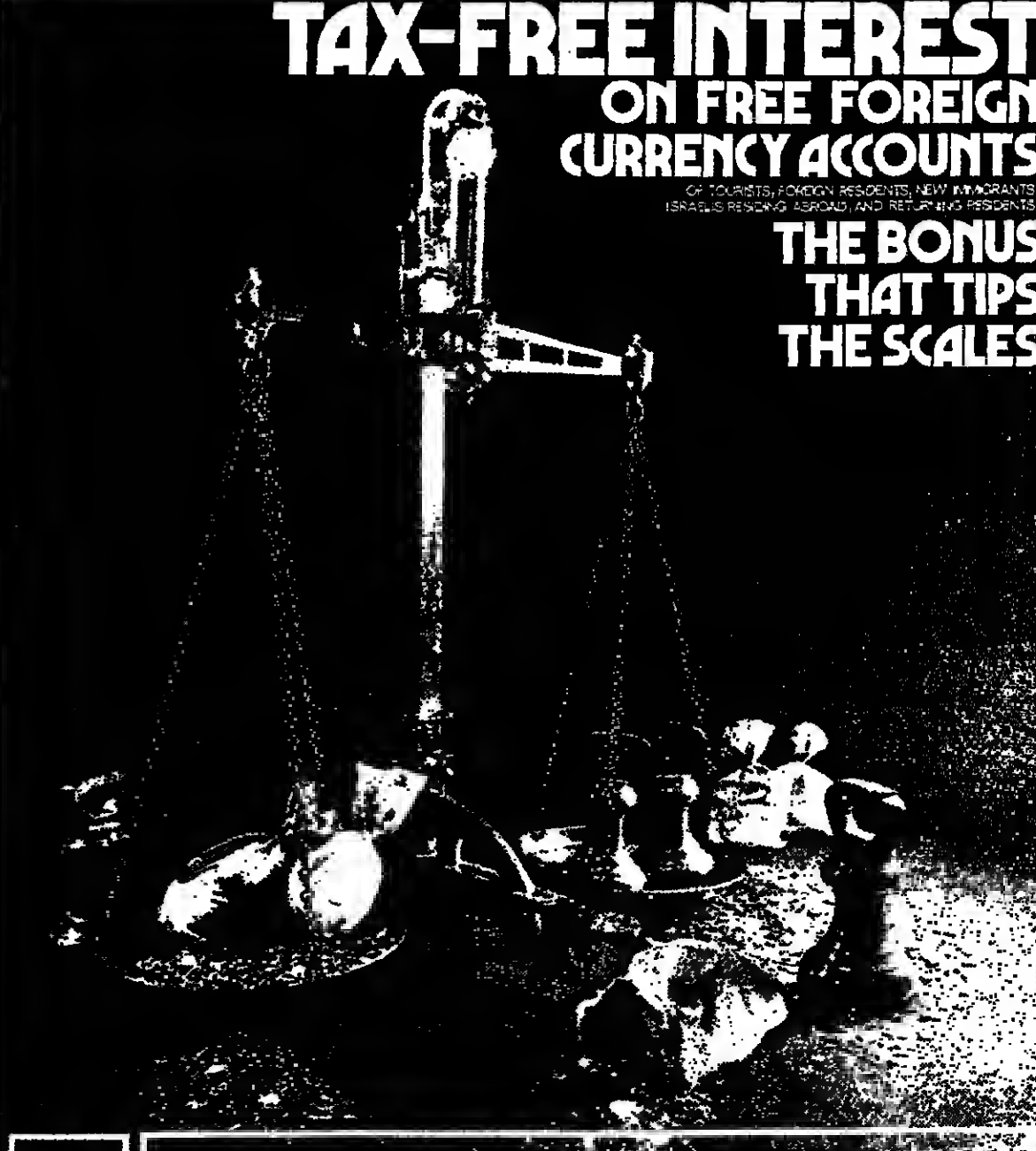
The Marines suffered no casualties in the clash in the Hay al-Sulim district, near Beirut airport. The clash occurred during fighting between the Lebanese Army and Shi'ite militiamen around the airport.

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DUPPELHAGEN	10	20	72
FRANKFURT	17	23	86
HAMBURG	16	21	81
HELSINKI	11	21	87
HELVOLAND	11	21	87
JERUSALEM	18	24	80
LONDON	15	20	80
MADRID	18	26	82
MILAN	18	26	82
MUNICH	18	26	82
NEW YORK	22	28	79
PARIS	18	26	82
ROME	18	26	82
SARAJEVO	18	26	82
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THE WEATHER

	Yesterday's Humidity	Yesterday's Min-Max	Today's Max
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Golan	37	19-28	28
Nahariya	60	23-31	30
Safad	30	17-26	26
Haifa Port	63	24-30	29
Tiberias	36	23-35	35
Nazareth	56	20-28	28
Afula	48	23-30	30
Shomron	39	20-29	29
Tel Aviv	63	23-29	29
B-G Airport	59	23-30	30
Jericho	35	23-36	36
Gaza	77	22-28	28
Beersheba	37	19-22	22
Eilat	14	23-35	35

ARRIVALS

A delegation of U.S. Congressional representatives and Anti-Defamation League activists, headed by Rep. Sandy Levin and Rep. Mike Andrews, for a one-week study tour.

U.N. Ambassador Professor Yehuda Blum for a week of Foreign Ministry consultations in preparation for the opening of the UN General Assembly next month.

McFarlane briefs British on peace efforts

LONDON (AP). — U.S. Middle East envoy Robert McFarlane flew to London yesterday to brief British officials on his efforts to prevent an outbreak of violence in Lebanon when the Israeli Defence Forces withdraw from the Shouf Mountains.

"McFarlane arrived on a private jet from Paris, where he met with Lebanese Druse leader Walid Jumblatt on Saturday. He was later due to leave for Rome."

"The briefing is to put the British government in the picture and keep it up to date about happenings in the Middle East," said a U.S. official.

Britain and Italy both have contributed troops to the Multinational Peacekeeping force in Lebanon.

McFarlane's meeting with Jumblatt was one of several he held on Friday and Saturday with French and Lebanese leaders in an effort to avert a Druse showdown with the Lebanese Army in the Shouf Mountains, where the Druses have been battling Christian militiamen.

Traffic report 'copter makes forced landing

TEL AVIV (Jtm). — A helicopter used by Kol Yisrael for radio reports on the traffic situation in the Tel Aviv region, made an emergency landing yesterday at the Sde Dov airport after running into engine trouble.

The pilot, Eli Shani, managed to land the aircraft safely.

BASKETBALL

The NBA East team won the three-match exhibition series against the West with a 157-147 win in Jerusalem last night.

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HOME AND WORLD NEWS

Begin's doctor in Hirsh baby drama

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Prime Minister Menachem Begin's personal physician flew to the U.S. last month with the infant grandson of Natori Karta, spokesman Rabbi Moshe Hirsh for an operation that saved the child's life.

According to an unconfirmed report, Begin himself gave his consent in a dawn telephone conversation to Dr. Mervyn Gotsman, the doctor who performed the operation. Neither Begin nor the doctor knew — nor presumably, would be worried by the fact — that the baby was the grandson of the most notorious anti-Israeli spokesman in the *haredi* camp.

The child, Baruch Mordechai, is the son of Yisrael Hirsh, who was detained by the army for several days recently for his refusal to register for army service.

Born on July 6 in Jerusalem's Bikur Cholim Hospital, the baby soon showed signs of heart and breathing malfunction for which a rare operation was required. After determining that previous attempts to perform the operation in Israel had failed, the family decided to fly the infant to Boston Children's Hospital. When the doctor who was supposed to accompany the infant on the plane was obliged to cancel at the last moment, friends of the family contacted Dr. Gotsman, head of Hadassah's cardiac department.

According to *haredi* sources, one of their members who is active in medical affairs called Begin's home shortly after 5 a.m. to obtain permission for Gotsman's departure. He recounted the story to the person who answered the phone, according to this account, and 10

minutes later he was called back by Begin himself.

Reached at his home last night, Gotsman denied that Begin had been involved. "I don't think he even knew about it," he said.

The doctor refused to comment, saying it was unethical for him to discuss a case he was involved in. However, *haredi* sources say it was Gotsman's care during the flight that saved the baby's life.

An El Al plane with 430 passengers was held up for three-quarters of an hour to permit the doctor and the baby to arrive from Jerusalem. At New York's Kennedy Airport, an ambulance plane met the jumbo and flew Gotsman and the baby to Boston where the operation was successfully carried out two days later.

The baby arrived back in Jerusalem last week "better than new" according to his grandfather.



Supporters of Prime Minister Menachem Begin make their views known with chanting and placards outside the prime minister's house in Jerusalem last night. (Rahamim Yisraeli)

Jumblatt and Israeli official reportedly confer in Paris

Post Middle East Affairs Reporter and agencies

Druse leader Walid Jumblatt was yesterday reported to have met in Paris over the weekend with Israel's permanent representative in Lebanon, Uri Lubrani.

Lebanese President Amin Jemayel's security adviser, Wadia Haddad, is also reported to have been present at the meeting, held in a bid to reach an agreement on the deployment of the Lebanese Army in the Shouf Mountains following the impending withdrawal of the Israeli Defence Forces.

Jumblatt denied that the meeting had taken place. However, Paris-based diplomats told Reuters that the Druse leader had met Lubrani and Haddad for an hour on Saturday night in the home of French President Francois Mitterrand's security adviser, Francois de

Grossouvre.

The same sources said talks continued yesterday between U.S. special envoy Robert McFarlane, Haddad, a Jumblatt aide and French officials. McFarlane later left for London, apparently en route to Washington.

Jumblatt confirmed yesterday that his conditions for allowing the Lebanese Army to enter the Shouf after Israel withdraws remain the same; he is seeking wide-ranging political concessions to the Druse, which Jemayel still appears reluctant to make.

In Damascus, meanwhile, Syria's state media yesterday praised McFarlane's contacts with Jumblatt, noting that "the Americans are recognizing for the first time the presence of other forces in Lebanon that are viable apart from the Jemayels, father and son."

ALMOST SURE

(Continued from Page One)

self as a candidate for leadership. Levy responded: "I suggest you lay off these speculations. We will do everything possible to convince him to change his intention to resign and to persuade him to continue to lead the nation. Mr. Begin can still contribute much to the people of Israel, especially at this time. We have scheduled a meeting tomorrow with all the coalition partners and I hope that we will succeed in convincing the prime minister to change his mind."

Education Minister Zevulun Hammer said he was saddened by the prime minister's decision and had told Begin that the majority of the people of Israel still wanted him. Hammer ruled out an alternative Alignment-led government and said the National Religious Party would stick with the Likud.

A similar note was sounded by Tami leader Aharon Abuhatzira, who said his party had promised its electors to go with the Likud and this decision still stood.

Not one coalition leader broke ranks in the support for Begin. Agudat Yisrael MK Avraham Shapira said that as long as the resignation letter was not written there was still hope. New Liberal

Minister Without Portfolio Sara Doron said that she would work with all her colleagues to try to change the premier's mind.

Even maverick former defence minister Ariel Sharon, interviewed on Kol Yisrael, expressed the hope that Begin would stay on as prime minister or lead the Likud in a new election campaign.

Sharon added that any government — even a caretaker administration — should initiate a new settlement drive in Judea and Samaria as "the proper Zionist response" to President Ronald Reagan's weekend speech in which he said the West Bank settlements were "an obstacle to peace."

But Social Affairs and Absorption Minister Aharon Uzan of Tami appeared aloof of it all. Asked by *The Jerusalem Post* whether he, too, would go to the prime minister, Uzan said: "I'm on leave."

Asked whether anyone else from Tami would go, he said: "I'm resigning. What others do is none of my business."

Speaking shortly after the announcement of Begin's resignation, MK Ronnie Milo expressed the view that "tens of thousands of people" would take to the streets to demonstrate their support for Begin.

A deluge of telephone calls to the Prime Minister's Office began shortly after the radio reported Begin's announcement. An aide to the prime minister last night estimated he had received some 90 telephone calls from people asking what they ought to do to persuade Begin to stay on.

TREASURY

(Continued from Page One)

Shlomo Lorincz — a staunch supporter of the Treasury — that the committee will bow to maverick NRP member Avraham Melamed's demand, and refuse to double the present \$50 travel tax until the entire economic austerity scheme is discussed in detail by the committee.

At the Ministry of Energy, legal experts yesterday were studying possible ways of raising electricity rates without the Finance Committee's approval. Nevertheless, the ministry has requested the committee to convene in a special meeting to hear its request for an increase in rates.

Following last week's hike in fuel prices, the ministry may request an electricity price rise of as much as 20 per cent, retroactive to August 1.

The Industry and Trade Ministry announced that Minister Gideon Patt is cancelling his trip to Bucharest, scheduled for today. Patt was to have led a large delegation of Israeli trade officials and industrialists seeking to improve Israel-Romania trade, which currently is running two-to-one in Romania's favour.

BOMB

A firebomb exploded at the Philippines Embassy in Washington on Saturday night, causing minor damage to two doors, police said. The blaze was extinguished quickly and no injuries were reported. No one claimed responsibility for the incident.

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Dr. KURT MOOSBERG

The funeral will be held today, Monday, August 29, 1983 at 3 p.m. at the Holon cemetery.

We will meet at the main entrance to the cemetery.

The Bereaved:
His wife: Rita
His daughters: Yaal Shechter and family
Raya Grinberg and family
Yehudit Bieller and family
His sister-in-law: Suzi Lewis

RIVAL GROUPS

(Continued from Page One)

Akiya Nof, Justice Minister Moshe Nissim, Health Minister Eliezer Shostak, MK Ehud Olmert, and MK Eliahu Ben-Elissar, chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee.

"They are sitting in a queue, each waiting for a chance to speak with him," said a security man, describing the scene inside. With Begin was his son, Binyamin Ze'ev Begin.

But it was the scene outside Begin's house that caught the attention of all who arrived.

The Jerusalem Herut activists, led by city councillor Yehoshua Matza, organized the demonstration and distributed leaflets and posters. When the singing grew too loud — so loud that it could be heard, said one security man, clearly inside the premier's house — Matza and other Herut people tried to ease the crowd's excitement. Nof tried to get the crowd to stop singing altogether, but to no avail.

Meanwhile, at the other end of Balfour Street, the Peace Now activists, led by Tzali Resher, began arriving soon after the pro-Begin forces. "We can't let it appear that the entire public is in favour of this," one said, pointing to the pro-Begin crowd.

The politicians were reticent about Begin's response to their pleas for him to change his mind. Dekel was the only one to speak to reporters, telling *The Jerusalem Post* that "it will take more than a politician's persuasion to convince him to change his mind."

He told some Herut activists that "it's unlikely we'll be able to change his mind, but we have to try."

The demonstrators were not so reticent, nor so pessimistic.

"Without you we have no king, no saviour, no messiah," read a placard carried by one man.

Another carried a photograph of Begin as a much younger man, and repeatedly kissed the picture for the cameras.

Another man brought a 1981 election poster carrying Begin's portrait with the words "better the sorrows of war" written above it. When asked about the war in Lebanon, the man holding the poster cursed the questioner, calling him a "PLOnik traitor."

At one point, the crowd began chanting: "Tami is a traitor, Tami is a traitor."

The frustration level on all sides was high. The pro-Begin demonstrators pounded on police barricades. The Peace Now demonstrators knew their shouts were barely heard. The police, ever conscious of the fact that the last time the two groups faced off, Emil Grunzweig was killed, were on the alert.

But the most frustrated of all was probably one of the prime minister's neighbours, a small woman who burst out of her house after about an hour of shouting outside her door.

She complained to the police officer in charge that she hadn't been able to sleep all summer because of demonstrations.

When told by a police officer that surely she must understand, "It is after all the premier's home and there's freedom of speech in Israel," she cried out: "He should come out here, I've got plenty to tell him, too."

RICKOVER. — The U.S. Navy on Saturday launched a new Los Angeles-type nuclear submarine named after Admiral Hyman Rickover, 83, who is considered the "father of the nuclear submarine."

FOREIGN REACTIONS

Rosenne: Don't expect foreign policy change

Jerusalem Post Correspondent and agencies

WASHINGTON. — Israeli Ambassador to the U.S. Meir Rosenne said yesterday that no change should be expected in Israel's foreign policy if the Alignment takes over the reins of government following Prime Minister Menachem Begin's resignation. The two main parties do not differ much on foreign policy, he said.

In an interview on ABC Television, Rosenne said it should be recalled that the Alignment supported the Camp David Accords, and that 97 Knesset members, many of them from the Alignment, supported the government's decision to launch the Peace for Galilee Operation.

Rosenne said that people greatly exaggerate the differences between the Likud and the Alignment.

In answer to a question, Rosenne noted that not only Begin had had differences of view with U.S. presidents. David Ben-Gurion and Golda Meir had also had differences with U.S. presidents. "I therefore don't think there will be any basic change if Begin steps down," he said.

The U.S. was caught by surprise by the news of Begin's intention to resign. Official U.S. reaction will be held off until it is seen whether Begin in fact submits his resignation to President Chaim Herzog.

In Santa Barbara, California, a spokesman for President Ronald Reagan said the administration had no advance notice of Begin's avowed intention to resign.

Spokesman Larry Speakes said Reagan was notified of Begin's statement by White House chief of staff James Baker III.

Baker called the president at his 688-acre mountaintop ranch at 7:00 a.m. local time and they talked for several minutes, Speakes said.

West European radio and television stations yesterday highlighted Begin's resignation statement, often interrupting news programmes and feature films to do so. West European governments refrained from official comment but press commentators said Begin's departure might spell a "fresh start" for the Middle East and help solve the Lebanese imbroglio.

In Paris, the tripartite talks on the situation in the Shouf Mountains broke up rapidly after the announcement. American diplomats said the talks between U.S. envoy Robert McFarlane, Druse leader Walid Jumblatt and President Amin Jemayel's national security adviser Waddia Haddad were due to end yesterday.

American diplomats refused to comment on Begin's resignation, but the Druse delegation said they hoped his departure "would speed up the search for a solution to the Lebanese crisis."

Western diplomats attending the UN-sponsored conference on Palestine, due to open today in Geneva, said that some Palestinian and hard-line Arab diplomats "regret Begin's resignation. He was their favourite whipping boy and his departure will force on them a change of tactics during the forthcoming meeting."

Egypt yesterday declined to comment on Begin's announcement. Senior Foreign Ministry officials told reporters Egypt had nothing to say at this stage. Foreign reporters were told only that the news was "an internal Israeli issue."

Tough battle for succession is likely

By MARK SEGAL

Herut sources yesterday predicted a tough succession battle should Begin hand his resignation to President Chaim Herzog today.

The sources doubted that Begin would name his preferred candidate. They predicted that the contest would narrow down to Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Deputy Prime Minister David Levy to head a post-Begin Likud government prior to elections.

The Shamir faction and party allies appreciate that their man has much less electoral appeal than either Levy or former defence minister Ariel Sharon, with Ezer Weizman the most attractive candidate of all.

While Levy would outwit Shamir at the party central committee, the foreign minister's allies claim that he has more chance of mobilizing votes in the present Knesset. They imply that Levy has many more antagonists in the House who might not vote for him. They speak of the likelihood of abstentions from his party adversaries like Ariel Sharon and David Magen, or from the Liberal Party, whose ministers constantly clash with Levy on social spending.

APPOINTMENT. — Prof. Yehuda Ben-Shaul has been appointed vice-rector of Tel Aviv University.

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Yaron and Tamar Fredman

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Avraham Alfred Jutkowski

will take place on Wednesday, August 31, 1983.

We shall meet at the entrance to Har Hamenuhot cemetery, Givat Shaul, Jerusalem, at 3 p.m.

The Family

To our colleague

Wilhelm Kahan

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Martyrs and Heroes Remembrance Authority

announces that on Wednesday, August 31 its offices and museums will be open only until 1.00 p.m.



Prime Minister Menachem Begin's press adviser Uri Porat is besieged by reporters and photographers yesterday afternoon following Begin's announcement that he intends to resign. (Rahamim Israeli)

Joy, sorrow on Ben-Yehuda mall

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The news travelled quickly, passing from table to table, and then from pedestrian to pedestrian, sweeping down Jerusalem's Ben-Yehuda mall like an unexpected tsunami.

There were a few tears and sudden shouts of "no!" to contrast with the smiles of the opposition at the news of Prime Minister Menachem Begin's resignation. Afterwards came the analysis and the speculation — just like they were all professional politicians.

"We must tell him not to go, he's our father, we can't live without him," shouted a man, as he strode down the mall. He said he would go to Begin's house to demonstrate.

Others, in a cafe near the bottom of the hill, where once politicians and intellectuals mingled in the days of the Mandate and the Labour regimes, discussed the matter with cooler heads.

"Now there will be the Nasser phenomenon," said a man named Moshe. "Begin will let the public pressure and political pressure mount so that he'll have to take

back the resignation. Just like Nasser after the Six Day War," he said.

A tourist at the next table wasn't clear what all the fuss was about. "What happened? What happened?" she asked, aware of the excitement, unsure of its meaning.

The man who spoke of Nasser sharply told her what had happened and went back to his conversation. "Does that mean that Shimon Peres is the prime minister now?" asked the bewildered American tourist.

"Lady, it's much, much more complicated," answered a young, skull-capped and bearded man with a Kalachnikov rifle. He spoke English with an American accent. The woman with him, her baby in a back pouch and her head covered with a blue kerchief, heard the name Peres and said, "God forbid."

"How can he forsake us, how can he forsake us?" cried a small Yemenite man, walking up the mall. (The children and their parents looking for school book bargains at the blanket-on-the-ground stalls traditionally set up every year ignored the news.)

A crowd gathered outside an

electrical supply shop, where a radio was blaring the news. After a while, they stopped listening and started talking among themselves.

"It's the end, it's the end," muttered one man to himself.

"What are you talking about?" asked an elderly woman, her face wrinkled, her feet encased in the work boots of the old Yishuv. "It's been all over since 1977. Maybe this is the beginning," she declared.

A young soldier turned to the elderly woman. "How can you speak that way about Begin. He's like a messiah. You're probably glad he's so unhappy. Well, I'll tell you, he's unhappy because he cares so much about the Jewish people."

A haredi man appeared shocked. He asked: "And what did Reb Avraham (Shapiro) say? Are they saying in the coalition?"

A passerby tossed in the opinion that "the religious are worried about their money."

For a few minutes yesterday, the Ben-Yehuda mall was awash in the sense of drama that the prime minister himself always refers to: "There's never a dull moment in tiny Israel."

Accord gives 'new life' to Hadassah

By MARGERY GREENFELD
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Hadassah Medical Organization has reached an agreement with the Treasury and the Health Ministry that will enable it to continue functioning at least until the end of the current fiscal year, HMO sources told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

While the HMO has undertaken to increase efficiency and to trim its activities in various spheres, the agreement means that the financially troubled medical centre will not have to close any of its facilities or units, the sources said.

The agreement on greater financial cooperation between HMO and the Treasury thus lays to rest rumours concerning the possible closure of the Hadassah hospital on Mt. Scopus and the threatened closure of one or more of its teaching facilities.

During discussions with various government bodies last spring, both of these possibilities were cited.

According to informed estimates, the deficit for fiscal 1983-84 could have been more than three times the previous year's shortfall of \$5 million.

The agreement, which calls for setting Hadassah's budget according to the higher level of medical services provided by the HMO, will go a long way towards relieving some of the financial pressures the organization has felt in recent years, the sources said.

Much of the pressure stemmed from the government's practice of setting a standard rate for every day of hospitalization, regardless of the real costs of the patient's treatment. Thus Hadassah, which handles a disproportionately large number of complicated cases due to its highly sophisticated facilities and staff, was

receiving the same per bed/per diem rate as a smaller hospital with fewer complicated cases.

HMO director Dr. Shmuel Penchas, who returned last week from the 69th annual national convention of the Hadassah Women's Zionist Organization of America in Washington, said yesterday that the U.S. leadership hopes that the agreement will help to solve the problems arising from Hadassah's "unique position" in the nation's health-care system.

Under the agreement, the level of government support will be coordinated with the level of contributions from the U.S. There will now be much greater cooperation between the HMO and the government on all aspects of development, a province hitherto controlled almost exclusively by the Hadassah Women's Organization, which provides most of the funding.

IDF soldier hurt in blast near Aley

An Israel Defence Forces soldier was lightly injured yesterday morning near Aley when a bomb exploded near the vehicle in which he was riding. He was treated on the spot and returned to his unit. (Itim).

Delegation leaves for Palestine meet

A Rakah delegation and representatives of the "peace camp" left for Geneva yesterday morning to participate in a United Nations Congress on Palestine. In the unofficial delegation are MK Tawfik Toubi, Mati Peled, Uri Avneri and others.

INFILTRATION. — Two Egyptians arrested on Friday in Nitzana for entering Israel illegally told the Magistrates Court in Beersheba yesterday that they had crossed the border in order to find work in Israel.

TA storm over visit of Jo'burg's mayor

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A storm erupted yesterday in the Tel Aviv municipal council yesterday when opposition member Arye Zucker (Mapam) denounced the council for planning an official reception for Johannesburg Mayor Alan Gadd on Friday.

The reception for Gadd is tantamount to an approval of South Africa's apartheid policy, Zucker said, describing the conditions of blacks in Soweto, near Johannesburg, as being similar to "Jews, who felt on their flesh the racist policy of Nazi Germany. We should reject every attempt to justify racism," he said.

Zucker was continually interrupted by council executive member Arye Kremer (Herut), who blasted

SUITS. — The maximum amount that can be claimed by civil action in Israeli magistrates courts is being raised to IS2,000,000 from September 1.

Shinui candidate urges land probe

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The Shinui party's candidate for mayor, Professor Yehudith Naot, yesterday called on Mayor Arye Gurel to request the police to investigate all City Hall officials who were involved in the transfer of a private plot of land in the Danya quarter, designated as "public space," to the Danya Development Company.

The 81-year-old owner of the plot, who had been trying for 12 years to get fair compensation for his land, finally appealed to the High Court, which last month severely criticized the city's handling of the issue. The court censured City Hall's behaviour as an attempt to hoodwink the District Planning Committee and the court, "in a way that smells of a conspiracy to benefit the Danya company at the expense of the public."

Naot told a press conference

Police search for Kalachnikovs used in Hebron attack

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The General Security Services and the police are conducting a ballistic survey of weapons held by Jewish settlers in Kiryat Arba and several other settlements, as part of their search for the Kalachnikov automatic rifles used in the attack which killed three students at the Islamic University of Hebron last month.

A problem in the search is the settlers' practice of swapping parts of weapons once a weapon has been used in any action, such as crowd dispersal during Arab rioting and stonethrowing.

The survey began last week. All registered Kalachnikovs in the set-

tlers' possession are being checked. Despite promises from the leadership of the settlers that nobody will obstruct the survey, police sources have told *The Jerusalem Post* that there has been little cooperation with investigating officers in the past.

One senior officer conceded that it is unlikely that the identity of the attackers — if they were Jewish — is known to more than a handful of people in the territories.

"But there's a see-no-evil, hear-no-evil, speak-no-evil approach, in which otherwise law-abiding citizens are not helpful in our investigations," he said.

The settler leadership has

reiterated that all the weapons belong to the army, and are issued as part of the regional defence structure instituted by former chief of staff Rafael Eitan.

The division of authority in the territories, by which many of the settlers serve their reserve army duty in the area in which they live, has in the past created difficulties when police investigated shootings involving settlers. More than a year ago, a dispute broke out between the army and the police about who has the authority to conduct investigations into such incidents — the police or the military police.

According to police sources, police investigators trying to question settlers are often told that the

settlers acted under military orders. That effectively closes that avenue of inquiry.

Another problem in conducting the survey in which an estimated 250 guns are being voluntarily handed over to the army, is that there have been "irregularities" in the registration of many weapons in Kiryat Arba.

Two years ago the weapons registration was to have been computerized, but investigators have found that guns that were registered were not to be found.

Many rifles recorded as being in the Hebron suburb, for example, disappeared when their owners left the suburb for other settlements.

New warning about milk from Tnuva's Rehovot plant

By MARGERY GREENFELD
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Health Ministry yesterday expanded its warning against drinking milk from Tnuva's Rehovot pasteurizing plant to include all milk in bags bearing the stamped date 31.8.83. At the request of the ministry, Tnuva asked the public to return all bags of milk dated 31.8.83, produced by the Tnuva and Tenne Noga plants in Rehovot.

Milk from the Rehovot plant is sold in the country's central region. Dairies in Jerusalem and Haifa serve the capital and the North.

The ministry said that all milk from the Tnuva and Tenne Noga plants in Rehovot, bearing stamped dates up to and including 6.9.83, should be boiled by consumers immediately after purchase. Although no impurities were found in any milk other than that dated 31.8, the ministry explained that boiling the milk before drinking would eliminate any impurities that could

result from less-than-perfect pasteurization.

The ministry and Tnuva carried out extensive tests last week after receiving complaints from the public of a "bad taste" from milk dated 28.8. The probable source of the problem was located in a malfunctioning computer, the ministry said. The computer is responsible for monitoring and adjusting the temperatures during the pasteurizing process.

Tests on bags of milk bearing the pull-date 31.8.83 (the pull-date is the last date on which the product can be sold before being "pulled" from the store shelves) revealed actual contamination resulting from improper pasteurization, *The Jerusalem Post* has learned.

Drinking milk dated 31.8 can cause gastro-intestinal infections, with such symptoms as diarrhoea, vomiting, stomach ache and fever. These symptoms can appear up to several hours after drinking the milk.

Tight security for Kohl visit

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The southern police district plans to deploy more than 1,000 policemen when West Germany Chancellor Helmut Kohl arrives this week. It will be the biggest security operation since former U.S. president Jimmy Carter came to Jerusalem in March 1979.

The police have decided to keep streets in the capital open during the five days that Kohl is in the country. On four of those days, beginning Wednesday, the chan-

cellor will be in Jerusalem. There have been three requests for permits to demonstrate, from youngsters affiliated with the Labour Party, followers of Kach leader Meir Kahane, and by Herut activists. Southern district commander Nitzav Yehoshua Caspi said yesterday he would probably authorize the demonstrations, within severe limits.

All the senior officers in the southern district have been assigned to the operation, which involves both protecting Kohl and keeping traffic flowing in Jerusalem.

Caspi emphasized that no street would be closed for more than half an hour or an hour at any given time. Inquiries can be made at the City Hall information office 666-666. An officer will be on duty around the clock at that number, from Kohl's Wednesday arrival until his departure next Sunday.

Israeli Moslems set out for Mecca

The first group of some 3,100 Israeli Moslems making the traditional Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca will leave this morning. They will be followed over the next two days by another 50 busloads of pilgrims and will stay in Jordan and Saudi Arabia for about one month.

About 3,800 Israeli Moslems filed requests with the Interior Ministry to make the pilgrimage, but the Jordanian and Saudi authorities denied entry to some 700 women on the grounds that they did not have suitable escorts.

Suspended sentences for damaging dig site

Two yeshiva students from Bnei Brak were sentenced to three months imprisonment suspended for three years in the Jerusalem Magistrates Court yesterday for damaging the City of David archaeological site.

The two, Yehuda Ovadiah, 21, and Micah Rothschild, 20, were arrested last week after they were seen throwing stones at the dig site. They admitted having thrown the stones, saying that there are graves on the site which must be covered. (Itim)



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- Haifa — 80 Ha'Azmauth St. from 6.30 p.m. to 10.00 p.m. (Tel. 04-664156). At the Advance Check-in, you will leave your baggage, pay the airport tax, receive your seat and your boarding card. This will enable you to report at the airport 1 hour and 15 minutes prior to the scheduled departure time, and proceed directly to Passport Control.

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Sports

Maree breaks 1500 m. record, Quinon the pole vault

COLOGNE (AP). — South African-born Sydney Maree, who now lives in the United States, established a world record in the 1,500 metres yesterday of 3:31.24 mins, to beat Steve Ovett's 1980 record by 0.12 of a second.

Maree competed at the International Cologne Sports Festival. He was clocked over the first 400m of the race in 54.65 secs., passed the 800m mark at 1:52.80 mins, before taking the lead in the final round.

Maree had won the event in Cologne in 1981 with a time of 3:39.12 and in 1982 with 3:35.24. Pierre Quinon of France set a world pole vault record of 5.82 metres, beating the previous record of 5.81 metres set by Vladimir Polyakov of the Soviet Union on June 26, 1981.

Edwin Moses of the United States stayed below the 48 seconds mark over the 400m hurdles for the 23rd time in his career.

Watched by a crowd of 55,000 in Mueggersdorf Stadium, 200m world champion Calvin Smith of the United States won the 100m. for the fourth time in as many days. He was clocked at 10.39 secs. against a slight headwind.

Florence Griffith of the United States won the women's 100m. in 11.14. Angela Bailey of Canada was second in 11.31.

Because of a slight injury, West Germany's Ulrike Mayfarth jumped only 1.85m. high. Louise Ritter of the U.S. won the event with 1.96 metres. Second was Debbie Brill of Canada with 1.93.

West Germany's Claudia Losch won the women's shotput with 19.54m.

England has grip on Test

Post Sports Staff

England has got an iron grip on the fourth and final cricket Test against New Zealand at Nottingham, which ends today. New Zealand, set the almost impossible task of scoring 511 in the fourth innings to level the scores, were 167 for five at close of play yesterday. This they need 344, with most of their best batsmen already dismissed.

Starting the day with their second innings score at 252 for 8, England added a further 45 runs, as a result of a partnership between South African-born Allan Lamb, who made 137 not out, and Bob Willis, the captain.

New Zealand's only consolation was that Richard Hadlee, their fast bowler, took his 200th wicket in Test cricket, clean bowling four men to end up with 4 for 84.

Disaster struck New Zealand soon after they opened their second innings. Bob Willis wrecking Trevor Franklin's wicket when he had only 7. Norman Cowans disposed of Geoff Howarth and Martin Crowe.

Only their opening batsman Bruce Edgar batted with real resolution, but eventually he succumbed to the left arm spin of Nick Cook, after making a patient 76. Chris Smith, England's other South African-born player, was a change bowler for Hampshire, was given a chance to bowl by Willis in an inspired moment — and promptly took his first Test wicket, having Evan Gray caught by Mike Gatting. Jeremy Coney and wicketkeeper Lees then closed up the shutters and somehow got through the last nightmare half-hour. New Zealand has one hope — Hadlee has still to bat.

Swim records

Post Sports Staff

NETANYA. — Two records were broken yesterday in the 1983 National Swimming Championships. Nir Danai broke the 200m backstroke in 2:13.29. The relay team of Gesheh-Givat Haim-Shifaim broke the 4 x 100 m. relay in 3:37.01. A very good time, although not a record, was registered by Yoram Kockavi, in winning the 400m. medley in 4:33.73.

Vitas revival

PORT CHESTER, New York (AP). — Vitas Gerulaitis won his final warmup before the U.S. Open tennis championships by scoring a 6-3, 7-6, 6-2 victory over Jimmy Arias in the final of the \$50,000 AMF Head Cup USA tournament on Saturday.

Deadline nears at Teheran airport

Hijackers say they'll blow up plane

BEIRUT (AP). — An Air France Boeing 727 commandeered by four Arab gunmen over Europe landed yesterday in Teheran, and Iranian radio said the hijackers threatened to blow up the plane and its 17 hostages within 48 hours unless France meets their political demands.

An Iranian broadcast monitored abroad said the gunmen's demands included freedom for several Lebanese held in French jails and a change in French policy in Iraq, Chad and Lebanon.

The hijackers emphasized that if the government of France does not comply with their demands they will blow up the plane in 48 hours," the broadcast said.

Teheran Radio said the hijackers were carrying Tunisian passports but were now insisting they were Lebanese. The radio said the remaining 17 hostages were in good health after their ordeal.

In Paris, an Air France spokesman said the hostages included the seven-member French crew and 10 passengers — six women and four men. The spokesman said the passengers included six French citizens, three Americans and one Swede. He declined to give their names.

The jetliner landed at Teheran's Mehrabad International Airport under an Iranian fighter escort, after the Iranian government relented and allowed the plane to enter its air space.

Shortly after the plane departed from Damascus, where it made a refuelling stop, the official Iranian news agency IRNA said the government had barred the jetliner from

any of its airfields.

IRNA quoted Prime Minister Mir Hussein Musavi as saying Iran decided to allow the plane to land for humanitarian reasons.

Iranian officials began negotiations with the hijackers within minutes of their arrival. While Iranian guards surrounded the plane, Foreign Ministry officials and an Arabic-speaking interpreter began talks with the gunmen.

In addition to their demands of the French, IRNA said the hijackers want the Iranian government "to declare its support for the hijackers or else provide them with fuel for the continuation of their flight to an unspecified destination."

Musavi was quoted as saying Iran would provide fuel and supplies only if the gunmen release the hostages.

IRNA said the Iranians "are trying by every possible means to dissuade the hijackers from dynamiting the aircraft."

It said the Iranian Foreign Ministry was relaying the demands and French replies through France's charge d'affaires, Jean Perrier.

The odyssey began Saturday about an hour after the plane with more than 100 mostly French and Austrian passengers left Vienna's Schwechat Airport. Four well-dressed men armed with pistols and grenades announced they were taking over the flight.

The plane first landed in Geneva, where the hijackers, described by Swiss authorities as "extremely nervous," released 37 passengers unharmed.

250,000 declare 'we still have a dream'

Reagan policies denounced at rally for King

WASHINGTON (Reuters). — At least 250,000 demonstrators massed in Washington Saturday to honour the assassinated black rights leader Martin Luther King, turning the rally into an outspoken protest against President Ronald Reagan's policies.

Speakers including King's widow and possible black presidential candidate Jesse Jackson addressed the multi-racial crowd gathered at the Lincoln Memorial near the White House.

They attacked Reagan policies ranging from jobs to civil rights to El Salvador and nuclear arms control. What became an anti-Reagan rally of blacks, liberal whites, feminists, nuclear-freeze crusaders, labour leaders and others was called to mark the 20th anniversary of the rally made historic by King's famous "I have a dream" speech.

The unifying theme was "jobs, peace and freedom." The inspirational slogan was: "we still have a dream." Police tentatively estimated that 250,000 people were at the memorial. Rally leaders said more than 300,000 were assembled, surpassing the record 250,000 crowd when King spoke at the same spot in 1963.

For the crowd, King, shot dead in 1968, was the inspirational hero. But Reagan, on holiday in California, was the figure mentioned again and again in bitter terms.

The demonstrators chanted slogans such as "Reagan no more in 1984" and carried banners saying "Reagan Kills Dreams" and "Reagan Must Be Stopped."

Coretta Scott King, the black leader's widow, who

also denounced Reagan in a radio broadcast earlier in the day, paid a moving tribute to her husband at the end of the 11-hour rally.

Telling the hushed crowd that "Martin Luther King Jr. is here today, I can feel it," she blinked back tears and said:

"Thank you for your dream, Martin. We are so proud to celebrate this day, it's your day, Martin. Your day."

Then a recording of King's original "I have a dream" speech boomed out over the loudspeakers complete with eerie echoes of the applause of 20 years ago. The live crowd stood in silence and some joined hands. Mrs. King swayed her head to the cadence of her husband's voice.

The rally concluded with a saxophonist playing the civil rights anthem of King's crusade, "We shall overcome."

Jackson, the Baptist minister and black leader who is considering running for president next year, also denounced what he called the regressive "Reagan machine" and stirred the crowd to a frenzy of chanting by yelling in a preacher-like litany:

"You must march on. Don't let them break your spirit. We will march on from the outhouse to the White House. March on. March on. Dream on."

Reagan issued a statement expressing sympathy with the marchers' goal of social justice and said King's 1963 speech was "a moving moment in American history."

Convicts say British police tortured them into confessing

LONDON (AP). — Four men convicted of armed robbery and other crimes claim police detectives in Birmingham, England's second largest city, tortured them into signing confessions. The Sunday Times reported.

It said the four claimed in separate reports that interrogators placed black plastic bags over their heads and throttled them during interrogations.

The paper quoted an unidentified police spokesman in Birmingham as saying authorities were investigating allegations made by one of the men, Harry Treadway, 38.

He was jailed for 15 years last March for two holdups and on two counts of criminal conspiracy. The evidence against him was a 165-page confession and the word of an informer.

"We have received no other com-

plaints," the spokesman said.

The allegations have fuelled controversy over Britain's police, who have been criticized in recent months for their growing use of guns, their racial attitudes and their failure to curb a worsening crime wave.

The Sunday Times quoted Treadway as saying in a deposition that police officers put a bag over his head from behind while he was seated.

"It was tightened round my head and twisted," he said. "I was told to stamp my feet when I had changed my mind about writing a statement."

The paper said Treadway was later checked by a police doctor who found evidence of hemorrhaging around his neck and shoulders, apparently caused by asphyxia or strangulation.

Guerrillas release 10 in Ethiopia

KHARTOUM (Reuters). — Ten Swiss citizens held since August 3 by anti-Ethiopian guerrillas have been released, a spokesman for the Tigry People's Liberation Front (TPLF) said yesterday.

Yamani Kidani told Reuters the Swiss nationals were escorted by TPLF guerrillas yesterday to the outskirts of an Ethiopian-held town 40 kilometres north of Tigry's provincial capital of Makelle where they were set free.

The spokesman said the TPLF decided to release them because they "insisted that they would like to go at their own risk and responsibility."

"We had no alternative but to take them to the government-held town," he said. The spokesman

named the town as Wukro.

The 10 Swiss citizens, of whom six are relief workers and the rest visiting relatives, were captured by the TPLF guerrillas when they overran a government-held village in the province of Wollo.

The six relief workers belong to the Terre Des Hommes Organization which runs a village for 350 orphans.

Kidani said it was up to the Swiss government now to handle the situation with the Addis Ababa government. On Saturday, Kidani alleged that Ethiopian authorities were denying permission to a Terre Des Hommes representative sent to Ethiopia earlier this month to collect the Swiss citizens.

Texans shelter from hurricane threat

CORPUS CHRISTI (AP). — Tropical storm Barry was upgraded to hurricane yesterday, gathering strength over the Gulf of Mexico and edging closer to southeast Texas.

The 560 kilometre-wide whorl of thunderheads and rain clouds, peaked winds up to 120 kilometres per hour.

More than 3,000 residents were evacuated from Texas coastal communities.

Cameron County civil defence director George Davico said that 350 people were in shelters in Brownsville and 800 in Harlingen. More shelters were being opened to accommodate evacuees from South Padre Island.

Burly is the second Atlantic hurricane this year. The first, Hurricane Alicia, slammed into the southeast Texas coast 11 days ago, killing 21 people.

Flood forces removal of 5,000 Bangladeshis

DACCA, Bangladesh (AP). — More than 5,000 people in northeastern Bangladesh were evacuated from their homes after the Kushiara River flooded the region, officials said yesterday.

The flooding occurred in the Zakiganj subdivision of the Sylhet District, about 200 kilometres northeast of the capital of Dhacca. In a telephone interview, the deputy commissioner of Sylhet said the evacuations were ordered after water rushed over protective embankments along the river.

Baseball: Saturday

National League East Division			
	W	L	Pct.
Pittsburgh	66	61	.520
Philadelphia	64	61	.512
Montreal	63	63	.500
St. Louis	63	63	.500
Chicago	57	71	.445
New York	53	74	.417

West Division			
	W	L	Pct.
Atlanta	75	54	.581
Los Angeles	73	53	.579
Houston	67	61	.523
San Diego	64	65	.496
San Francisco	61	68	.473
Cincinnati	59	71	.454

American League East Division			
	W	L	Pct.
Baltimore	73	52	.584
Milwaukee	73	55	.570
Detroit	73	55	.567
New York	70	57	.551
Toronto	71	58	.550
Cleveland	65	67	.493

West Division			
	W	L	Pct.
Chicago	71	57	.555
Kansas City	64	63	.504
Oakland	65	67	.493
California	60	69	.465
Texas	59	70	.457
Minnesota	56	74	.431
Seattle	49	80	.380

Toronto 7, Detroit 4; Oakland 5, Milwaukee 2; Chicago 2, Boston 1; Baltimore 5, Minnesota 2; Kansas City 2, Texas 0; California 7, New York 6; Seattle 6, Cleveland 5.

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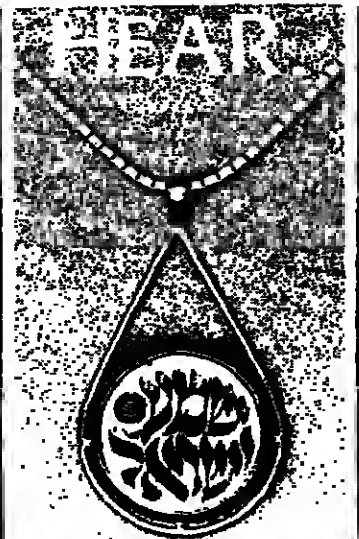
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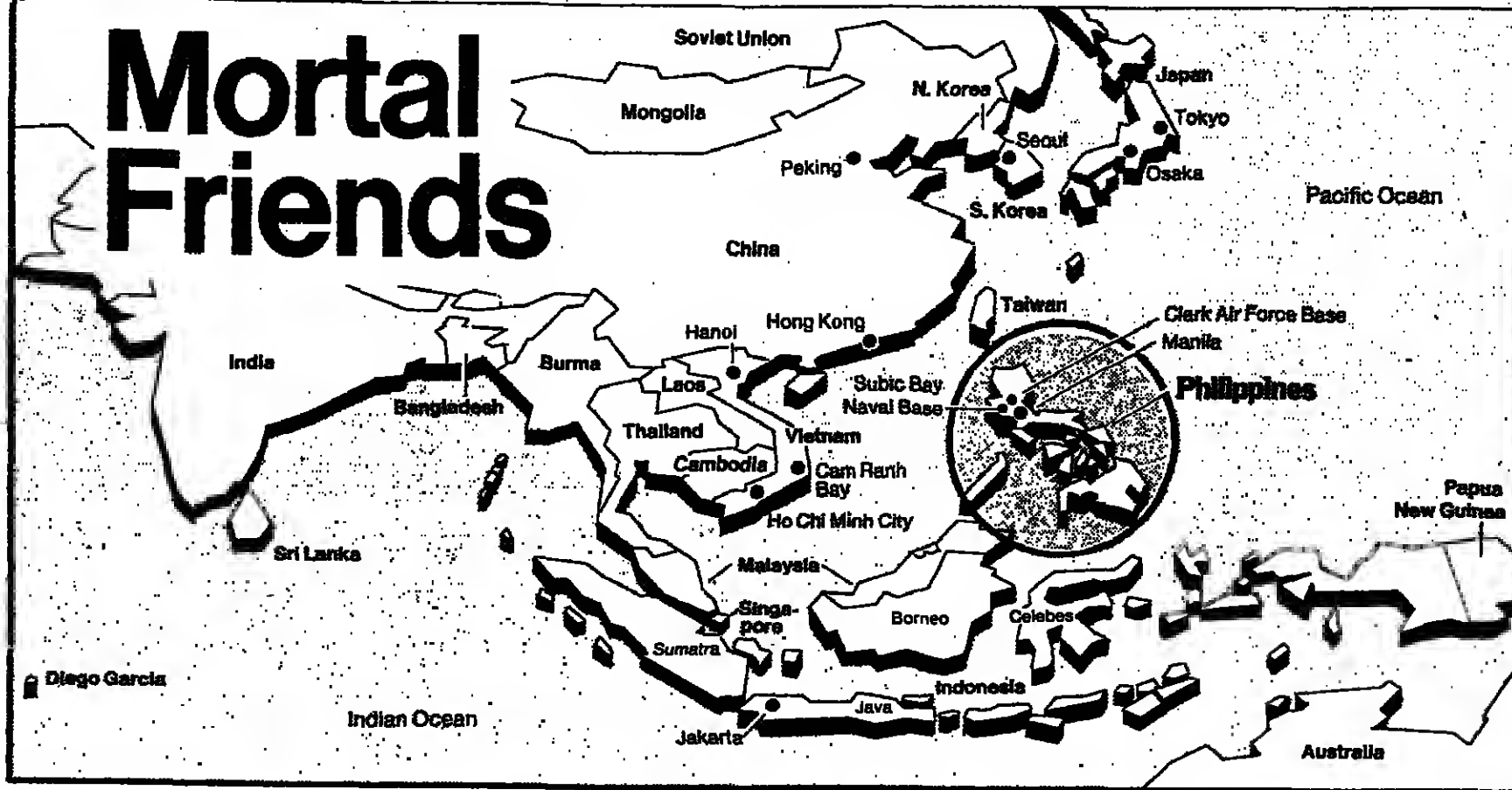
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“The Philippines sits astride the vital sea and air lanes of the Western Pacific and the gateways to the Indian Ocean. It is in close proximity to Soviet installations in Vietnam. Within four flying hours or five sea days, U.S. forces can reach Korea or Japan or Singapore or Guam or Australia. U.S. forces in the Philippines are ideally positioned to give U.S. maximum flexibility in responding to crisis in that part of the world.”

Admiral Robert L. J. Long, then commander of American forces in the Pacific, in House testimony, on June 16, 1983.



Sydney S. Hoffer
Benigno S. Aquino Jr.

agreement since Afghanistan followed by a few days the lifting of export restrictions on the sale of tractor pipe-laying equipment to the Soviet Union. These restrictions were also laid down by Mr. Carter, to the distress of American firms like Caterpillar, because of a Soviet crack-down on dissidents. According to Mr. Block, this Administration wants more trade with the Soviet Union.

New Chad Front Is Diplomatic

A military shield was applied last week in Chad by 3,000 of France's best troops. While they manned a line against further advances southward by Libyan-backed rebels, President François Mitterrand tried diplomacy to end the fighting and preserve the former French colony from what he saw as Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi's designs on Africa.

Paris no longer spoke of “advisers” or “instructors.” In a long interview with Le Monde, Mr. Mitterrand issued a warning to Colonel Qaddafi: France has the means, “if necessary, to answer militarily and quickly any new offensive.” There has been a lull in the fighting and Mr. Mitterrand asserted the French intervention had been decisive in bringing it about. Explaining why France had waited so long, to Washington's distress, the President said he wanted it to be clear to the world that the aggression came from Libya and that he did not wish to embroil France in a civil war. Two American A-7 Corsair fighters, sent early on to Sudan to monitor Libyan air and ground movements, were withdrawn last week with the explanation that the military stalemate made their presence no longer necessary. They were part of the tiff between Paris and Washington, which Mr. Mitterrand said had now been settled.

A veteran politician, Maurice Faure, was sent to Addis Ababa to try to enlist the help of the Organization of African Unity in settling the conflict. Renewal of direct contact with Colonel Qaddafi was also reported — a second visit by Roland Dumas, a French lawyer and longtime associate of Mr. Mitterrand, to Tripoli to persuade the Libyan leader to withdraw, now that he faced formidable French opposition. The colonel has not acknowledged a Libyan presence in Chad, a position that might make it easier for him to pull out. As for talks between Chadian President Hissen Habré and his rival for power, former President Goukouni Oueddei, Mr. Mitterrand said he had hopes but as yet no formula for bringing them together.



F-4 Phantom jets at Clark Air Force Base in the Philippines.

For U.S., Global Needs Can Overshadow Human Rights

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

FOR weeks, President McKinley had procrastinated over whether to annex the Philippines. In 1898 Washington was divided between those who saw the islands, one of the spoils of the Spanish-American War, as strategically vital to American political and commercial interests and those who were unhappy with the concept of colonialism. Finally, as he later related, he chose humanitarian reasons to justify the strategic decision.

“I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight,” he said, “and I am not ashamed to tell you that I went down on my knees and prayed Almighty God for light and guidance more than one night. And one night, late it came to me this way — I don't know how it was, but it came, that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift them and civilize and Christianize them.” The problem of reconciling human rights and strategic considerations was newly evident last week after the assassination of Benigno S. Aquino Jr., the top Filipino opposition leader, moments after he returned from three years in exile in the United States. There was indignation on Capitol Hill from members of Congress who felt that President Ferdinand E. Marcos had gone too far and that the United States must curtail its ties to his Government if it wanted to maintain self-respect.

“To lend your moral and political support to the Marcos Government at this critical time will be interpreted as a sign that America is indifferent to the assassination and condones the violation of human rights in the Philippines,” Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, said in a letter to President Reagan urging him to cancel a planned trip to Manila.

But at the same time, the Administration cautioned that vital American strategic interests were at stake in the Philippines, particularly with the buildup of Soviet air and naval power in Vietnam.

State and Defense Department officials said that no matter how repugnant the Marcos regime, the United States could not afford either to abandon the Philippines or become so embroiled with Mr. Marcos that he abrogated military base agreements. The President's trip to Manila might be called off, officials said, if Mr. Marcos is not credibly commended. But the \$800 million five-year aid package, the payment for continued use of Clark Air Force Base and the Subic Bay Naval complex, should stand.

They are the largest American bases outside the United States. Two F-4 tactical fighter squadrons are stationed at Clark, whose runways can handle any size aircraft. Subic Bay has enormous repair facilities and a specialized work force manning them.

Americans have always argued whether this country should be concerned about making the world safe for democracy or just for the United States. From this question flows the obvious ones:

Can, in fact, the United States do much to bring about change in other countries? Is there a risk in being overly critical of an ally or friendly country?

For instance, was the United States, because of its criticism of the Shah, in part responsible for the advent in Iran of the radical Islamic regime of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini? The Ayatollah's record on human rights and democratic values has been so much worse than anything blamed on the Shah, whose downfall was a major strategic loss to this country. Or did the Shah bring his troubles on himself by paying too little attention to human rights?

Have American interests been served in Central America by the decision to abandon the Somoza regime in Nicaragua and permit the Sandinistas to take power? Or are American interests endangered in Latin America by the perception that the United States cares too little about the welfare of the people in those countries?

Many of the same Americans who detest the Marcos regime are also concerned about the Administration's strong backing for South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan, who seized power in a 1979 coup, and by its support for the Government in El Salvador. In these cases, too, security interests dictate support for good relations with the regimes, regardless of their internal policies, while historic American values encourage a more vigorous effort to bring about internal change or at least to distance the United States from such Governments. Considerable energy has been expended by Administrations in recent years to evolve a policy that maintains security links while allowing concern for human rights to be expressed.

“We do not believe a line should be — or can be — drawn between human rights interests and strategic interests,” Thomas P. Schoenly, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, told a Congressional committee last year. His argument was that if a government did not have widespread support and was depriving its people of their human rights, it would eventually become weakened internally as well as strategically.

But he added that American influence, to be effective, had to be used in such a way that a working relationship is maintained. In other words, the United States should say or do nothing that could lead to a negative response from the Government concerned.

The situation in the Philippines brings together all these problems. The Philippines, located at the north-south axis in the Pacific, close to important American allies in Asia, and providing a good springboard to the Indian Ocean, are undoubtedly of crucial strategic interest. But the assassination of Mr. Aquino, by forces that clearly did not want him to undertake a political campaign against Mr. Marcos, underscores the undemocratic nature of the country that for years was trumpeted as “the showcase for democracy in Asia.”

The Reagan Administration, prior to the assassination, had been reluctant to deal directly with the human rights issues in the Philippines. It preferred quiet diplomacy and public shows of support, such as Vice President Bush's visit in 1981 that resulted in his astounding speech in praise of Mr. Marcos's support for democracy, and President Reagan's embrace of Mr. Marcos on a state visit here last year.

Of all the commentators in recent days, one of the more thoughtful was Representative Ben Yatron, Democrat of Pennsylvania, who is chairman of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on human rights. He wrote Mr. Reagan saying he was concerned that the American policy of seeming to endorse Mr. Marcos “not only compromises our own values but in the long run will encourage anti-Americanism.”

“The ultimate outcome could well be to force us to withdraw our bases from the Philippines,” he said.

Marcos Foe's Murder Shakes Two Countries

What to do with a strategic ally whose political practices are an embarrassment even to himself? The problem was dramatically thrust on the United States last week when the foremost rival of President E. Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines was gunned down at Manila airport within minutes of his return from three years of self-exile.

The killing of Benigno S. Aquino Jr., a 50-year-old politician with a 17-year record of opposition to Mr. Marcos, came in circumstances that added discredit to a regime strongly contested at home and caused more distress than usual in Washington, which has a heavy stake in Philippine stability. The Reagan Administration condemned the assassination but made clear it was sticking by the strategic ties.

Mr. Aquino came off the plane heavily guarded but a man dressed as a maintenance worker got close enough to shoot him. Then the assassin was killed by soldiers. Mr. Marcos quickly went on television to speak of his “shock, humility and tears.” He denied any Government connection and charged there was an effort to spread panic.

Opposition leaders remained unconvinced. How could the killer have been allowed so close, how did he know when and where to position himself, why was he killed instead of captured and interrogated? His identity remained a mystery, the only apparent clue being the word “Rolly” embroidered on his underwear. The questions raised in Parliament also went unanswered. In an effort to still suspicions surrounding the Government, a commission of inquiry was set up but opponents charged it was stacked with Marcos followers. Jaime Cardinal Sin of Manila refused an invitation to participate.

Mr. Aquino's body, as it lay in state at home, became a rallying point for thousands of opponents of the regime. With the death of a man who had espoused peaceful change, the fear of polarization between a violent left and a violent right was pervasive. After his widow, Corason, returned to Manila with her five children, the body was removed to a nearby church, then to Tarlac in his home province; more thousands followed it with cries of “free our country” and “fight, fight, fight.” Students rioted, heightening tension that was expected to remain long after the funeral Tuesday.

A Glimmer Of Détente

Moscow's empire may be no less “evil” now than it was when President Reagan delivered his militant “Darth Vader” speech in March. But last week, while Mr. Reagan toned down his anti-Soviet oratory

and indicated his desire to do business, Soviet President Yuri V. Andropov made what looked to the State Department like a “positive” move on arms control.

The President pushed as hard as ever for his defense buildup against the Soviet in a speech to the American Legion in Seattle. However, there was less of an effort to whip up anti-Soviet feeling and more emphasis on the theme of peace through strength. He assured his audience that “headway for peace” was being made in arms control talks. He offered no evidence other than to talk of Soviet “movement” in the strategic arms negotiations and in talks on conventional weapons.

One sign of movement in a separate negotiation on medium-range missiles in Europe was a “good will” offer by Mr. Andropov to destroy any missiles, including the latest SS-20's, that would be moved out of Europe under an agreement with the United States. This would allay fears they might be relocated in Asia against China and Japan. But more serious hurdles remained. Mr. Andropov continued to insist that any agreement must abandon NATO's plans to deploy 572 American missiles toward the end of this year and allow the Soviet Union equality with the 162 missiles deployed by France and Britain. These are not now integrated in NATO defense and the West has refused to make them part of the bargaining.

One explanation for the President's emphasis on peace is that it is expected to be a major issue in the election next year. So will the state of the economy. In Moscow last week, Secretary of Agriculture John R. Block signed a five-year grain agreement by which the Soviet Union will buy an annual minimum of nine million metric tons from American farmers for a total of at least \$10 billion. Mr. Block hailed the agreement as marking the end of “a distasteful chapter” when the American share of the Soviet market for foreign grain dropped from 70 percent to less than 20 percent as a result of the partial grain embargo imposed by President Carter after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Retorted Zbigniew Brzezinski, Mr. Carter's national security adviser: “What is truly distasteful is Secretary Block crawling on his knees to Moscow.”

As if to show that regaining a valuable market for farmers was more important than displays of political displeasure, the agreement included an undertaking by the United States not to interrupt the flow of grain during the life of the agreement. The Russians will have the right to buy up to 12 million tons a year. But a severe drought in the Middle West combined with an Administration program to reduce acreage has almost wiped out the corn surplus this year, raising the question of whether American growers could meet such a demand. Nevertheless, Mr. Block was optimistic about one effect of the Soviet deal. Mr. Reagan will get the farm vote, he predicted.

The signing of the first bilateral

A season of confusion in world economic affairs

2

G.O.P. moderates bide their time, Ronald Reagan alters his tune

4

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The World



Lech Walesa at meeting last week with Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

Wear and Tear And a Boost For Solidarity

For the tattered remnants of Solidarity, Poland's short-lived experiment with an independent trade union, it was a week of ups and downs. The authorities crowded as Wladyslaw Hardek, a Nowa Huta steelworker who was one of the union's five underground leaders, appeared on television and said he was giving up the battle. But a Roman Catholic source said later Mr. Hardek "was grabbed" and forced to make the statement, presumably under threat of imprisonment. He was granted an amnesty and has dropped out of sight.

The workers got a boost when Poland's bishops accused the Government of failing to keep the promises of the Pope's visit in June and condemned new regulations making martial law restrictions permanent.

But a Solidarity call for a slowdown at the Gdansk shipyard fizzled, partly because low morale and shortages of materials had already reduced production. The union has announced a further low-key demonstration—a two-hour boycott of public transportation and official newspapers—for Wednesday, the third anniversary of the now-broken agreement that legitimized Solidarity.

The slowdown was intended to support union demands for a meeting of Government officials with Lech Walesa, Solidarity's founder. Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski ridiculed Mr. Walesa at a meeting with shipyard workers, calling him "a tortoise" for his support of worker resistance. But the audience shouted its support for Mr. Walesa and booed Mr. Rakowski. Mr. Walesa, announcing he would mark the anniversary by placing flowers at the monument to workers killed in previous strikes, invited Government officials to join him. He was not holding his breath.

Insurgents On The Offensive

With millions of dollars in United States aid and encouragement from President Reagan, the Nicaraguan insurgents seemed to be getting their anti-Sandinista act together last week. Government officials and diplomats in Managua said as many as 2,000 rebels had crossed into Nicaragua, launching hit-and-run attacks across three northern provinces that left scores dead on both sides.

Nicaraguan officials reported that the insurgents seemed better disciplined, trained and armed this time; they suspect they are being supplied by air from bases in Honduras. Nicaragua's Defense Minister Humberto Ortega suggested the insurgents might try to seize Puerto Cabezas on the Caribbean coast, to establish a provisional Government that "would be recognized by the United States and its regional allies."

The aircraft carrier Coral Sea and a five-ship escort have been steaming off the Caribbean coast since mid-August. Last week, the battleship New Jersey arrived on the Pacific side with seven more warships. Nicaraguan officials said they feared the insurgents may get direct support during United States naval and land maneuvers that will bring thousands of troops to Honduras over the next six months.

Chipping away at the insurgents' political divisions, the United States-financed Nicaraguan Democratic Force based in Honduras was predicting a merger arrangement with Edén Pastora's Costa Rica-based

مكتبة

Revolutionary Democratic Alliance. Despite their differences, the two groups recently joined the Misura Indian Organization in endorsing democratic government.

Withdrawal Symptoms

Lebanon's feuding politicians are more accustomed to hurling epithets than forging compromises but last week, with Israeli forces preparing to withdraw from the Shuf Mountains, they were seeking ways to avert renewed civil strife. President Amin Gemayel called on all faiths to unite and help him free the country of foreign armies. He sent a top aide to Paris for possible meetings with Walid Jumblat, the Druze leader, who threatened "a terrible blood-bath" unless his 300,000 people received recognition in the Government and autonomy in the Shuf.

The Government reportedly named a Druze brigadier general to command army units in the Shuf when Israel moves out. Pierre Gemayel, the President's father, said the family's Christian Phalangist militia would leave the area when the army arrives. But Mr. Jumblat, who regards the army as also Christian-dominated, dismissed the Phalangist offer as "certainly not a concession." His chief allies, former Prime Minister Rashid Karami and former President Suleiman Franjeh, offered to hold a national reconciliation conference with President Gemayel in northern Lebanon or Tunis. Five civilians, meanwhile, were killed near Beirut in shelling by Druze artillery and in the mountains, Israeli troops killed five attackers who were carrying cards of Mr. Jumblat's Progressive Socialists.

Robert C. MacFarlane, the American special envoy, also flew to Paris. He persuaded Israel to delay its withdrawal for a few days but Prime Minister Menachem Begin said he hoped the "redemption" to south Lebanon would be completed by Sept. 8, the Jewish New Year.

Israel got a pre-holiday boost from Liberian President Samuel K. Doe, the first African head of state to make a state visit since 1971. The two countries linked resumption of diplomatic relations, broken under Arab pressure 10 years ago, to shared concern over Libyan President Muammar el-Qaddafi's "new-style imperialism" in Chad.

Liberia, which already receives American military aid, will be getting Israeli military advice and training as well as help with management of agriculture, shipping and its airline.

Iran Makes Good On Foreign Debt

The United States is still the greatest of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's satans, but there is such a thing as giving the devil his due. Last week, Iran settled \$419.5 million of American claims, transferring the money to the Export-Import Bank in Washington from the \$1.42 billion escrow account set up when 52 American hostages in Tehran were released in January 1981.

Iran so far has settled with 20 American banks, a total disbursement of \$895.9 million, counting last week's transfer. Much of the money had gone to finance big-ticket purchases such as Boeing jet transports and electronic and power-plant equipment. The Iranian Central Bank reports repayment of nearly all the \$10 billion in foreign debts inherited from the Shah and international trade is picking up. Western European and Japanese salesmen are lusting after an estimated \$10 billion in foreign currency reserves. Even United States exporters (mainly through intermediaries) rang up \$97 million in Iranian sales for the first half of 1983.

Tehran wants to "normalize banking relations internationally and restore its credit," explained Assistant Treasury Secretary John M. Walker Jr. "They have the money—more than \$20 billion in oil earnings expected this year—and they want Western participation in developing the country," added Barry Rubin, a former hostage and now a senior fellow at Georgetown University's Center of Strategic Studies. He discounted suggestions the deal was an ideological victory for Iranians who favor free enterprise, but pragmatic interests have tempered radical impulses. Mullahs with large land holdings have put a crimp in demands for land reform and the bazaaris, the regime's merchant supporters, blocked nationalization of foreign trade.

By shunning fancy hardware, Iran has managed to hold spending on its 34-month war with Iraq to a manageable \$6 billion this year. But the Tehran authorities admit to unemployment of 22 percent, not including thousands of women excluded from Government jobs; inflation is above 20 percent, and industrial production is hobbled by shortages, including managers who have fled abroad.

Milt Freudenberg and Henry Gintger

Overrated Dollar, Third World Debts Among Administration's Headaches

Season of Economic Confusion Is at Hand

By CLYDE FARNSWORTH

WASHINGTON — After an August calm, the Reagan Administration's international economic policymakers are girding for a barrage from the guns of September. The shooting will be over such issues as mounting third world debt, high interest rates, an overstretched dollar, thinning resources at the International Monetary Fund, the record \$80 billion American trade deficit and strained trade relations almost everywhere.

More than ever, decisions on international policy influence economic life in the United States. Exports accounted for more than 14 percent of the Gross National Product in the second quarter of 1983, generating seven million jobs.

Cabinet councils on the economy have proliferated—two for trade, one each for agriculture, energy and finance. Then there's the Senior Inter-Agency Group on International Economic Policy, which covers the waterfront. But, critics insist, mechanisms are still lacking for much more than crazy-quilt, ad hoc responses. This may be partly because thinking is compartmentalized. "There is no routine for looking at everything together to see how one action will affect others—or to anticipate surprises," said Harold B. Malmgren, a Washington consultant and former Republican trade negotiator. "There is too much reliance on formal apparatus, triggering too many turf battles."

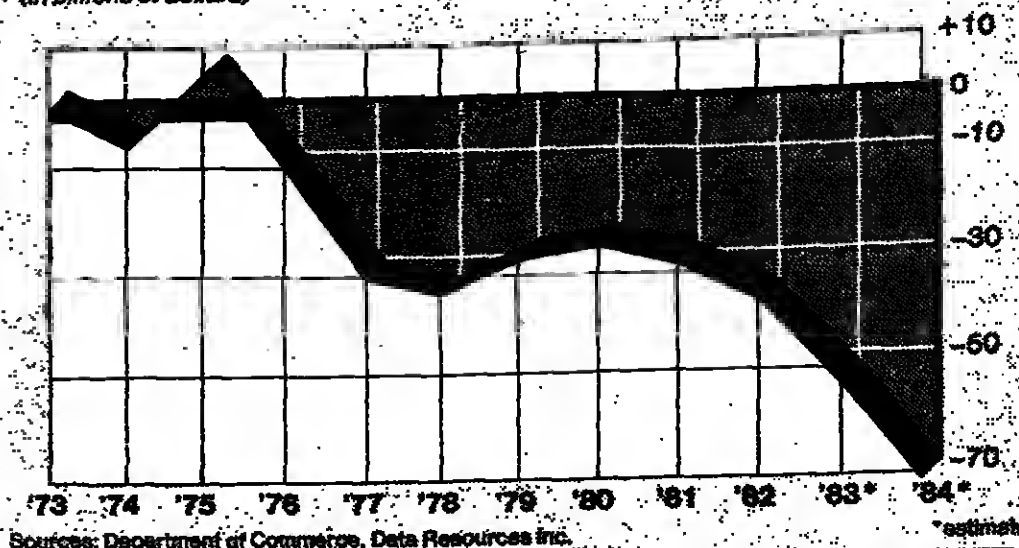
Although international developments have increasingly important effects on domestic well-being, the Administration has yet to assign high priority to international economic considerations. Other countries are discomfited by what seems to be the basic Administration message—"What's good for the United States is good for the rest of the world."

Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan and Martin S. Feldstein, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, insist that domestic recovery, if combined with market-oriented policies abroad, will restore global economic health. "In the view of other countries, this country has been both insensitive to their problems and uncooperative," contends Harvard Prof. Richard N. Cooper, who was Jimmy Carter's Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs.

That perception may begin to change next week in Caracas, Venezuela, where the Organization of American States will be presented with proposals for a "debtors' cartel" to stave off demands for repayment. In Washington, later in September, the world debt crisis will dominate

U.S. balance of merchandise trade

(in billions of dollars)



the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. Meanwhile, a House-Senate conference committee will be fighting over a bill authorizing \$8.4 billion for the fund. With the I.M.F. running out of money, West Germany, Japan, Britain, Switzerland and Saudi Arabia were negotiating an emergency loan of \$8 billion to the fund.

Signs of Sensitivity

Although it is not a party to this deal, even critics concede the Administration has shown signs of heightened sensitivity. Fulfilling a promise made at the Williamsburg summit in May, the United States this month intervened in currency markets to check the rising value of the dollar. Internationalists led by Secretary of State George P. Shultz also prevailed last year on putting together the financial rescue package for Mexico and on arranging the compromise with Europeans over Soviet pipeline sanctions.

But also at Williamsburg, the United States joined in an antiprotectionist pledge. Recent decisions to curb imports of specialty steel and textiles appeared to violate at least the spirit of the undertaking. "There has always been a tug-of-war between conflicting interests in the bureaucracy," noted Robert D. Hormats, a high-level economic official in this and three earlier Administrations, with "advocates of farmers, labor, business, defense interests, foreign policy interests all pulling often in different directions." The results, said C. Fred Bergsten, director of the Institute for International Economic Policy and a high Treasury aide in the Carter Administration, are often "blatant inconsistencies." He cited the overvaluation of the dollar, which hobbles exports at the same time the Government is trying to expand them. And high interest rates, byproducts of domestic policy, are pumping up the dollar's value internationally, which increases third world debt burdens.

Forty percent of American exports went to third world purchasers until the debt crisis

forced them to cut back. Under Secretary of Commerce Lionel H. Olmer notes the United States recorded a \$377 million trade surplus in the first half of last year with eight high-debt Latin American countries—Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru and Venezuela. This year, the United States posted a deficit of \$6.3 billion with them. To boost American exports and as stopgap aid, the Administration plans to pour \$2 billion of Export-Import Bank credits into Brazil and Mexico, the biggest debtors. "There are too many cooks in the kitchen," Mr. Bergsten concludes. They include:

- Treasury officials, who are watching with fingers crossed as Brazil, which owes \$80 billion, seeks new credits and copes with monetary fund requirements for discipline. Last week, Brazil suspended payment on \$1.5 billion and opened negotiations in Paris on a massive rescheduling.

- Commerce Department officials, who are monitoring trade—East-West, West-West, North-South and with Japan. Commerce controls imports of textiles, motorcycles, carbon and specialty steels and a vast range of other products deemed to represent "unfair" competition for American producers. It also controls exports to Russia of high-speed computers, silicon wafers and other products with military applications. Last weekend's decision by Commerce to lift controls on pipeline-laying equipment raised questions about future relations with the Russians and other adversaries such as Libya.

- United States Trade Representative officials, who are preparing negotiating positions on farm and other disputes with Europe and Japan. They hope some issues, such as maintaining restraints on Japanese automobiles, can be resolved during President Reagan's visit to Tokyo in November.

- Agriculture Secretary John R. Block, who was in Moscow last week to sign a new long-term grain agreement that will increase minimum Soviet purchases by at least 50 percent. Restoring Russian markets for American farmers has been an Administration goal.

It Doesn't Take a Superpower to Sell Firepower

Smaller Nations Crack Arms Market



Prime Minister Menachem Begin touring production line of Israeli armored vehicles.

By DREW MIDDLETON

There are Brazilian armored personnel carriers in Portugal, Israeli fighter-bombers in Argentina, South Korean field guns in Brazil and South African surface-to-air missiles in Chile, all examples of the entry into the international arms bazaar of new producers prepared to sell their weapons to almost any buyer.

None of these countries rivals the Soviet Union or the United States, which export \$10 billion to \$15 billion of weapons a year just to the third world. Library of Congress analysts report. Although the United States sells to more countries worldwide—67 as opposed to Russia's 28—the Soviet Union is the leading exporter of major weapons, according to the yearbook of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute and The Military Balance, published by London's International Institute for Strategic Studies.

Behind the two giants come France, Britain and Italy, with Brazil and Israel moving forward and South Korea and South Africa slowly entering the field. According to the yearbooks cited above and NATO intelligence officers, both Brazil and Israel sell more than \$1 billion of arms a year. Brazil sells to 18 countries while Israel is known to sell to 18. Last week, Liberia signed up for Israeli military advisers and training but said it would not be buying weapons. There may be other customers; intelligence sources emphasize that much of Israel's arms trade is kept secret. Israel is said to be cooperating with the United

States by sending weapons captured from the Palestine Liberation Organization to Honduras for eventual use by insurgents in Nicaragua. But last autumn, Israel reportedly offered P.L.O. infantry weapons worth \$50 million to Iran, a country hardly friendly to the United States, Israel's most powerful and generous ally.

Brazil is similarly free in its choice of buyers. Brazilian transports are flying in Belgium and France and its armored cars have served Iraq in the war with Iran and with the armies of Cyprus, Colombia and Nigeria.

Used Weapons Merchants

South Korea and South Africa are relative newcomers to the list, and their overall sales are small compared with those of Brazil and Israel. The South African arms industry, hurriedly built up to reduce the impact of international embargo, has sold missiles to Chile and, according to NATO specialists, is seeking customers among the non-Communist states of Southeast Asia. The United States is still South Korea's main source, but Seoul's arms industry is growing. It has sold 155-millimeter field guns to Brazil and tank landing craft to Indonesia.

A third category of minor exporters, which includes Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Libya, resells arms from the United States and Soviet Union. Iraqi officials recently complained that the 34-month war with Iran was being prolonged by American weapons "pouring" into Iran from unnamed neutral countries. Washington, on the other hand, is concerned about the possible im-

pact in prolonging the Gulf war of French Exocet missiles reportedly intended for Iraq.

Brazil's arms industry is booming. Europeans estimate that the country sells about 1,000 armored cars and armored fighting vehicles annually in arms-for-oil deals in the Middle East and Africa. Its three biggest sellers are the amphibious Urutu, the Cascavel, an armored car, and the Jaraca, a light reconnaissance vehicle. All are named for Brazilian snakes. Brazilian arms sales reportedly passed the \$1 billion mark last year. This figure is behind the \$1.2 billion in arms sales Israel admits for 1981, but which financial analysts believe is considerably understated.

Surrounded by hostile neighbors and sometimes uncertain about the flow of weapons from the United States, Israel has established defense industries employing 300,000 people, about a fourth of the labor force. Israeli Aircraft Industries, its largest industrial company with 22,500 employees, exported half of its production, with sales of \$800 million in 1981. Israeli Military Industries, which had exports of \$300 million the same year, is the second largest employer.

According to Frost and Sullivan Inc., a market research company, Israeli exports go to Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Venezuela, El Salvador and Nicaragua. Turkey was the only European customer listed, but the General Accounting Office said Israel had sold some captured P.L.O. armored vehicles to Rumania, South Africa and Swaziland are buyers in Africa and Taiwan, Singapore, Thailand and Malaysia in Asia.

Isabel's Intentions Keep Argentina Guessing

Will Peronist Party Deal A Wild Card in Election?

By EDWARD SCHUMACHER

BUENOS AIRES — A long-running political cliff-hanger starring former President Isabel Martínez de Perón may come to a denouement this week. Will she or won't she?

The drama, which Argentines have been following with alarm, hope or simple relish, concerns whether Mrs. Perón will return from her exile in Spain to back a Peronist presidential candidate — or perhaps to run herself. The ruling military has promised national elections in October. The Peronist Party, the country's largest, has scheduled its nominating convention to begin Saturday, so Mrs. Perón is expected to make a decision by then. But the reclusive exile has yet to say whether she will return to the country.

Ten weeks of provincial primaries to select delegates to the convention ended last weekend. Party leaders, trying to divine her intentions while weighing their own strengths, appear to have settled on former Senator Italo A. Luder as the presidential candidate in a series of backroom deals that may turn the convention into a formality. But Mrs. Perón could easily upset these plans.

"She's the wild card in Argentina's future," said a Western diplomat.

As the last wife and political heir of the party's founder, Gen. Juan Domingo Perón, Mrs. Perón commands tremendous sentimental and symbolic power, particularly among working class Argentines. So did his first wife, the now legendary Eva, who died in 1952. The general, a demagogic populist, first came to power in 1946 and was deposed nine years later. He made a comeback in 1973 but died in office in 1974 and was succeeded by Isabel, his Vice President. The first woman head of state in the Western Hemisphere, she was overthrown in a 1976 military coup, and was held prisoner for five years before being allowed to go to Spain two years ago.

Mrs. Perón, 63 years old, was a chorus line dancer when she met General Perón in 1955. Even Peronists admit her presidency was a disaster, marked by runaway inflation and gun battles between political extremists in the streets. The coup was a popular one, but public opinion is fickle. As the military has avowed its own failures, her shortcomings have been forgotten or forgiven by many Argentines.

Mrs. Perón is said to feel she was bitterly betrayed. Since arriving in Spain, she has rejected old friends, replaced her personal entourage and refused to respond directly to the many entreaties from party leaders competing for her support.

Indeed, in a plot twist, one of the few Argentine polit-

ical figures she has met with was Admiral Emilio Massera, a member of the junta that overthrew her. The retired admiral treated her kindly in captivity and secretly courted her support two months ago in his own bid for the presidency. Mrs. Perón, a longtime admirer of the admiral, is said to have seriously considered giving it, but did not because the move would provoke certain insurrection within the party.

Speculation is also rife here about the role of another military man, this one an exiled Croatian colonel, Milo de Bogetich, who has become her bodyguard and spokesman in dealing with Peronist leaders. A former Yugoslav partisan fighter who advised Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo in the 1960's, he is reported to be a suave multilingualist with holdings in Paraguay. His fencing for the widow has so frustrated powerful Peronist labor leaders like Lorenzo Miguel, head of the metalworkers union, that they have taken to referring to him in public, with some disdain, as just "the Croat."

Behind this concern is the memory of an earlier adviser to Mrs. Perón, José López Rega, a soothsayer who became her Social Welfare Minister. From that post, he directed a secret right-wing terrorist group before fleeing in 1976 with millions of Government dollars.

Many Argentines are concluding that her silence means that Mrs. Perón does not want to return to the turmoil of Argentine politics. Adding to that view is her recent purchase of a villa on the Spanish Mediterranean coast. But two weeks ago it was disclosed that a house had been prepared for her in Asunción, Paraguay, where she would stop on her way back to Buenos Aires.

The Government of President Reynaldo B. Bignone has said that Mrs. Perón is in fact legally ineligible to run for office or hold a party position because of a Supreme Court ruling last year upholding her conviction on a felony. She was convicted of depositing \$740,000 of charity funds into a personal account. The legal issue is not seen as much an obstacle, however, as the Government is weak and the Peronists could probably obtain a pardon. The Multiparty, a forum of five of the country's largest



Sydney/Diego Goldberg
Isabel Martínez de Perón

parties, including the Peronists, last week demanded restitution of her political rights. The Peronists themselves, however, have not really forced the issue. The reason, according to Peronist insiders, is that most party leaders, aware of her weaknesses, do not want her to run. Their hope is that she will content herself with becoming president of the party, a largely titular position.

The issue, however, has threatened to divide the Peronists. A loyalist minority faction has demanded that all campaigning stop until she returns to take over. "With Isabel in hand, who needs candidates," Juan Labaké, a leader of the faction, said.

Main line party leaders fear being accused of treason to Mrs. Perón and so step carefully, accusing the loyalists of trying to gain power by using her. Mr. Deolindo F. Bittel, the presumed nominee for Vice President, said last week, perhaps with a touch of cynicism, that "in spite of everything, we have to be respectful of the law."

Riots Challenge Zia

In Pakistan, Islam Leaves Little Room For Freedom

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS

KARACHI, Pakistan — The other day, the morning movie on closed-circuit television in one of Karachi's big Western-style hotels was about a military leader who seized power, disbanded Parliament and, as the agent of the Almighty, set about creating a puritan society.

The brief plunge into the 17th century England of Oliver Cromwell offered some parallels with today's Pakistan. Charles I was beheaded as a result of Cromwell's rise to power; former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was the principal victim of the advent of Gen. Mohammad Zia ul-Haq to power here.

Cromwell and General Zia shared the same overriding objective: To set society "straight on the path of righteousness," as General Zia put it recently. What Cromwell thought he was doing for Christianity, General Zia is doing for Islam. In announcing that his six-year martial-law regime would lead to a restoration of democracy in about 18 months, the President vowed to complete what he calls the "Islamization" of society. His goal, he said, is to build Islamic principles so securely into the structure of the country that "there will be no returning to any other system."

But the General has been distracted by other things in the last two weeks. A civil disobedience movement aimed at bringing down his Government has led to widespread rioting here in the province of Sind, of which Karachi is the capital. Officially 23 people, but perhaps as many as 60, have been killed. Thousands have been arrested and in one application of Islamic law, more than 100 people have been sentenced to flogging.

The protests, the first serious challenge to the Zia Government, seem unlikely to bring down the regime unless the violence spreads to the rest of the country. But the situation could eventually cause the General to alter his timetable and program for restoring democracy. His opponents believe he intends to amend the Pakistani Constitution unilaterally to make the President paramount over the Prime Minister and Parliament. And who, they ask knowingly, will the new President be? General Zia denies such ambitions.

But whatever his political intentions, there is little doubt that so long as General Zia holds power he will mean what he says about Islamization. The question is, what kind?

Looking for Identity

Pakistan has been groping, through trial and error and with much argument and contention, toward its version of Islamic politics as an alternative to what is viewed as Western decadence ever since it was invented as a Moslem homeland in 1947. The main result so far is what can only be called Islamic puritanism. The drinking of alcohol, for example, is not merely prohibited but can be punished by 80 lashes. Other Islamic punishments have been legalized, if not yet carried out, such as stoning to death for adultery and cutting off a hand for stealing. There is no public dancing, or cabarets, and little public entertainment. The female form must be suitably covered. Female television announcers were prohibited for a time from wearing makeup. The result, critics find, is a dull, dour, boring place ruled almost exclusively by the ideals of work, discipline and order.

"You can't do this, can't do that, can't do anything," grumbled one young man. Some analysts worry about the mass psychological effects of bottling up people. There is particular pressure on women to return to the purdah of home and kitchen from which many have only recently emerged. There is an eerie feeling at times, even in the big cities, that the country is populated only by males.

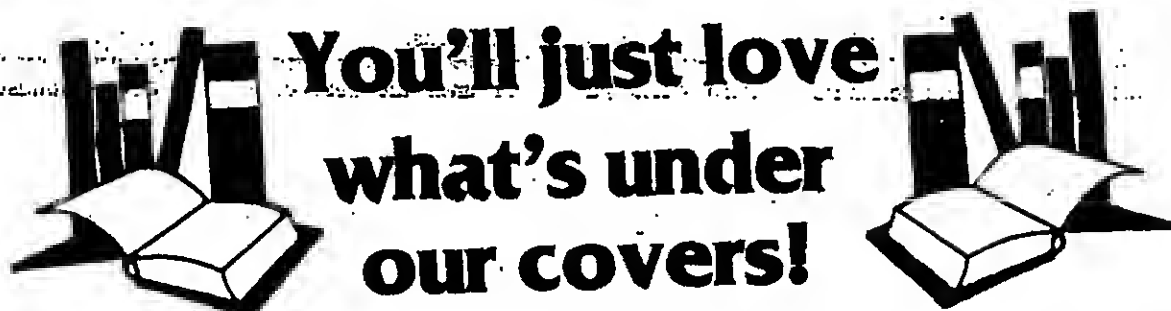
Still, Pakistan is not Iran. No mass executions have taken place under the Islamic banner. No one hunts down the impure or the heretic. Nor is Pakistan a theocracy, General Zia points out. The mullahs do not rule as in Iran. Even some opponents of the regime concede that Islamization is popular with many ordinary Pakistanis, who perhaps take pleasure in seeing the rich, Westernized middle and upper classes brought to heel. But those who deplore the drift toward fundamentalism say this is not what Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, had in mind when he fought for the establishment of an Islamic state. Jinnah, a fastidious dresser in Western-style suits with ideas to match, emphasized human freedom and rights.

Khalid Ishaq, a Karachi lawyer and well-known Islamic scholar, asserts that the Zia regime contravenes not only Jinnah's principles, but those of Islam itself. "If you have strict Islamic law," Mr. Ishaq said, "you must have respect for human rights." Under six years of Zia rule, civil liberties have been suspended along with democratic government and will be for at least another 18 months. Political parties have been squashed and political leaders arrested en masse.

After Cromwell came the Restoration, brought about partly by popular reaction against the puritan ethic. Similarly, says Mr. Jamil, "there is going to be a reaction against Islamization." But there is little indication so far that such a reaction has played a major role in the Sind riots. In any case, Pakistan already has had a bigger dose of Government-enforced Islam than England had of puritanism: General Zia's unelected autocracy has lasted a year longer than Cromwell's.



National Geographic/James L. Stanford
Moslems during prayer in Pakistan.



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The Nation



Senator John Tower

Texas G.O.P. Is Left With a Wide Open Space

Senator John Tower of Texas, chairman of the Armed Services Committee and one of President Reagan's staunchest allies on military matters, staged what seemed like a tactical retreat last week.

Facing a prospectively difficult campaign—there has been a sizable increase in the registration of black and Hispanic voters since the conservative Republican squeaked by in 1978—Mr. Tower declared that he was "fed up" with the "multilayered bureaucracy" of the Senate and would not seek re-election to the seat he has held for 22 years.

The announcement, combined with a similar one from Senate majority leader Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee earlier this year, raised Democratic hopes of reclaiming the Senate. It also raised the hackles of Texas Republicans, who are still smarting from last year's defeat of William Clements, the first G.O.P. Governor in 105 years and the party's only other statewide office-holder. "The Republicans are not dead, but they are in intensive care and bleeding badly," said George Christian, the political consultant who was President Lyndon B. Johnson's press secretary. "The double whammy damages the whole party system."

Among the Texans mentioned as possible replacements for Mr. Tower were Mr. Clements; Anne Armstrong, Ambassador to Britain in the Ford Administration; Phil Gramm, the former Democrat who switched parties and became one of six Republicans in the state's Congressional delegation; and James A. Baker 3d, White House chief of staff. Mr. Baker has denied he is interested, and his acknowledged use of the purloined Carter briefing papers in the Presidential campaign might be an issue that would preclude a change of heart.

On the Democratic side, former Representative Bob Kreuger, who lost to Mr. Tower by just 12,000 votes out of more than 2 million cast the last time around, and State Senator Lloyd Doggett have been campaigning for months.

Whoever the Republicans choose should get a lift if Mr. Reagan runs too. The White House, meanwhile, scotched talk that Mr. Tower might soon be headed across the Potomac to the Pentagon, which he has yearned to run. "We have a Defense Secretary," said Larry Speakes, Mr. Reagan's chief spokesman.

Mississippi Decides

Though her opponent avoided the issues of gender and age, preferring to portray her as a member of the "old guard" that controlled Mississippi for 50 years without bringing progress, many voters clearly believed 62-year-old Evelyn Gandy's place was not the Governor's mansion. Or so they said last week after Miss Gandy, a former Lieutenant Governor trying for the second time to become the state's first woman chief executive, lost the runoff for Democratic nomination to Bill Allain, 52.3 percent to 47.7 percent.

Not that Mr. Allain, the State Attorney General, does not have political liabilities of his own. He is a divorced Roman Catholic given to anti-establishment rhetoric in a Protestant state that hardly seems comfortable with nonconforming politicians. In his race against Leon Bramlett, who is trying to become the first Republican Governor elected since Reconstruction, Mr. Allain also must contend with the independent candidacy of Charles Evers, the civil rights leader and former Mayor of Fayette. Mr. Evers could siphon black votes Mr. Allain captured last week with a campaign that took him to the Delta and focused on pocketbook issues.

Some Economic Ups and Downers

For months now, diagnosticians reviewing the weekly collection of reports on the economy's health have seen signs of improvement and feared a relapse. The past seven days were no different.

Prices and productivity, two much hovered-over measures, looked handsomely on last week's charts. Consumer prices rose a moderate four-tenths of 1 percent in July, an increase from the two-tenths of 1 percent recorded in June but still well within the normal pace of price rises as a recovery settles in. American business productivity, meanwhile, surged upward at a 6.1 percent annual rate in the April-to-June quarter, the fastest pace in nearly eight years, and again, a not atypical one.

In the productivity figure, however, there was a reminder of the recession's legacy. The indicator normally rises early in a recovery, because companies increase output while still cautious about rehiring laid-off workers or wary of taking on new ones. In a survey issued last week, the National Association of Business Economists saw the civilian unemployment rate averaging 9.2 percent in the last quarter of 1983 and only edging down to 8.5 percent by the end of 1984.

As for a recovery-choking rise in interest rates, there were the usual jitters. The minutes of last month's meeting of the Federal Reserve's policy-making committee showed general agreement that a slight tightening of bank reserves "would provide some insurance against the possible need" for clamping down later to head off an inflationary surge. There had been anticipatory increases in the markets since May.

Local Hang-Ups In Phone Talks

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company, facing divestiture at the end of the year, learned anew last week just how troublesome decentralization can be.

On Sunday, company officials and leaders of three unions representing 675,000 striking workers announced a tentative agreement on a new three-year contract. It included a 16 percent average wage increase and, perhaps more significant, a package of job security and retraining programs to cushion telephone workers from technological advances that threatened to eliminate many jobs. All that remained, union leaders said, was approval by 34 local units of separate contracts with A.T. & T. subsidiaries, and members were expected back by midweek.

But the deadline came and went, and the vast majority of employees stayed off the job. As the strike ended its third week, bargaining difficulties appeared confined to as few as three local subsidiaries. The disputes, said to focus on specific work rules like split shifts and night differential pay, will keep all members of the largest union, the Communications Workers of America, on strike until all 34 local pacts are settled, union president Glenn E. Watts said. Adding to the crossed signals was the decision by two smaller unions to return to work because their local contracts had been signed.

One-Way Buses Into Mexico

Our 2,000-mile border is "a meeting place," President Reagan assured Mexico's President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado two weeks ago when they met at La Paz. "It provides enormous potential for cooperation." Last week, the United States Border Patrol seemed to be sending a different sort of message. The patrol, saying up to 1.5 million foreigners may cross illegally this year, announced free bus transportation to take illegal aliens as far as 1,000 miles back into Mexico.

What it had in mind, explained the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, was a six-week trial. Families and adult males who volunteered would be offered free rides south. Under the present system, Mexican nationals caught crossing illegally are returned just over the line. Border Patrol officers say the same person is often arrested and returned to Mexico two or three times on the same day.

The patrol said the busing project was dreamed up with the agreement of Mexican authorities. But the Foreign Ministry in Mexico City protested that it first heard of it only 24 hours before it was announced. "This decision was not made with the approval of the Government of Mexico," a spokesman said. "It is probable that Mexico will give a response to the United States on this," he added, "and I don't think it will be a positive one."

Carlyle C. Douglas,
Carolanne Rand Heron
and Michael Wright

Prospects in Senate Might Make President Rethink Re-Election

Party Moderates Plan Life After Reagan

By PHIL GAILEY

WASHINGTON

BEFORE the end of the year, probably sometime in November, President Reagan is expected to make known whether he intends to seek a second term in office. Whatever decision he makes, it is likely to have important implications not only for Republican chances in the 1984 Presidential election, but for the party itself in this decade and beyond.

The President's aides, in the absence of a discouraging word from Mr. Reagan, are making plans for a second Reagan campaign. Mr. Reagan reportedly has given tacit approval to the formation of a re-election committee. Strategy papers are being developed and names are being written into a campaign organizational chart.

But, as Senator John Tower, a Texas Republican, demonstrated last week, such preparations mean nothing until the candidate himself makes up his mind. Mr. Tower's surprising announcement that he would not, after 24 years in the Senate, seek another term has raised Democratic hopes of recapturing control of the Senate in 1984 and confronted Mr. Reagan with a prospect that could make another term in the White House less appealing.

Some of Mr. Reagan's political strategists reportedly have advised the President in private that the Democrats are in a position to regain control of the Senate next year, a development that would mean Mr. Reagan would face a second front of opposition on Capitol Hill in pressing his second-term agenda.

If Mr. Reagan should decide, for whatever reasons, not to go for another term, the most likely contenders for the Republican nomination would be Vice President George Bush, Senate Majority Leader Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee, Senator Robert Dole of Kansas and Representative Jack Kemp of New York.

Although all of these hopefuls say they want and expect Mr. Reagan to seek re-election, they have been quietly positioning themselves for a quick start in the event the President, who is 72 years old, decides one term is enough.

Mr. Bush is said to have gained political advantage, as well as Mr. Reagan's personal nod as a successor, by not overstepping himself as Vice President. Mr. Baker is sitting on a 50-page strategy document prepared by Douglas Bailey, a political consultant, that outlines in detail the immediate moves he should make to get his candidacy into orbit. The others are accepting speaking invitations to party functions and making efforts to increase the financial throwweight of their political action committees, political vehicles that can be easily converted into Presidential launching pads.

With the exception of Mr. Kemp, who is 48, these candidates are said to see 1984 as probably

their best, and perhaps last, chance to become President, partly because the Republican Party appears headed toward a change in leadership and its political agenda in 1988. If the predictions of some Republican soothsayers come to pass, the party's leadership pendulum is about to swing away from the House and Senate to the governors' offices, where some of the party's more moderate leaders are in waiting.

Despite pleas from Mr. Reagan and party leaders, a number of Republican Governors, including Lamar Alexander of Tennessee and Pierre S. du Pont 4th of Delaware, have declined to run for the Senate next year. Mr. du Pont said he wants to focus his efforts on "the post-Reagan" agenda, one that he believes will demand the kind of executive experience that the Senate cannot provide.

Conservatives on the Outside

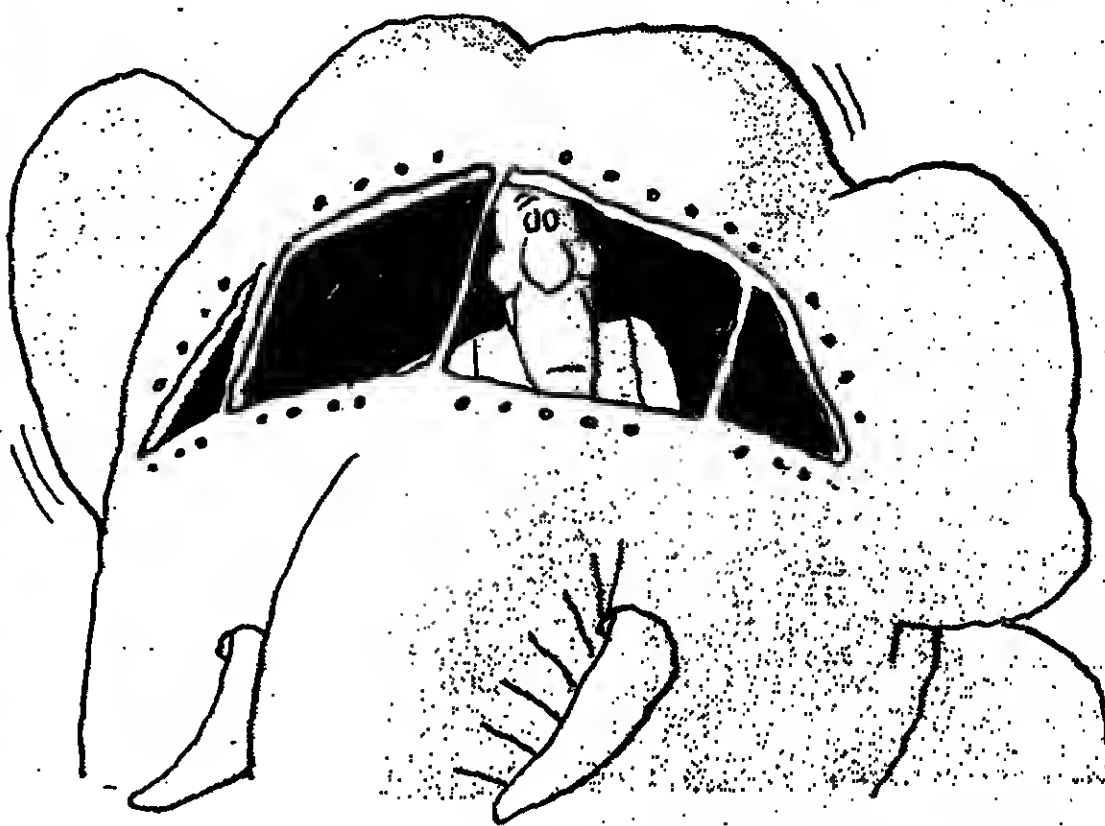
"I think 1988 is going to be a real watershed year for the Republican Party," said Mr. du Pont. "That's when we are going to see a generational change in the leadership of the party and a new political agenda. I think the Reagan agenda—controlling the size and cost of government, building military power and the rest of it—will have run its course when he leaves office and a new set of issues will emerge centering more on the competitiveness of our nation in the world."

The Governor is among those who are beginning to look beyond the 1984 Presidential election

and toward the future of the Republican Party after Ronald Reagan.

All indications are that the party structure that Mr. Reagan will leave behind, regardless of how long he stays in Washington, will be as structurally moderate as the one he inherited. The President has not, as some had expected or feared, delivered control of the party to its more conservative elements, or, perhaps more important, transferred to the party the political constituencies that elected him. The New Right, disillusioned with Mr. Reagan's performance, is operating increasingly outside the party, through political action committees and other organizations, at a time when some believe both political parties are gaining strength and importance in the nation's political life.

This does not mean, however, that conservatives, once known as Reaganites, will not be pushing their candidates and agenda. "The party will be a great deal different after Reagan," said John Sears, a Washington lawyer who was dismissed as Ronald Reagan's campaign manager in 1980. "Since 1964 the conservative wing has been able to stay together to name the party's Presidential nominee, except in the case of Jerry Ford. When Reagan goes, whether it be '84 or '88, there will be no natural place in the party for this big chunk of his constituency. So, for the first time in 24 years, that element of the Republican Party will shatter to some degree."



This President, Too, Can Bend in Political Winds

By ROBERT PEAR

WASHINGTON

HAS President Reagan had a change of heart or is he simply trying to reposition himself for the 1984 election, projecting an image of concern and compassion to rebut the "Reagan Hood" charge that he robs the poor to help the rich? The evidence that he has moderated his views is circumstantial, gleaned from his recent speeches. Reviewing it, many political observers consider the apparent shift tactical, not ideological. They also consider it characteristic of incumbents.

After trying to abolish the Department of Education, Mr. Reagan suddenly began to crusade for excellence in education in June. In July he stressed commitment to civil rights in a flurry of lawsuits, legislative proposals and speeches. This month, he announced he would establish a task force to study hunger in America, after repeatedly insisting that food assistance be "retargeted" in a way that would cut benefits.

Last week, he continued conciliatory gestures to Hispanic organizations in yet another of many recent campaign-style addresses, this one to an audience in Los Angeles. Two weeks ago, he indicated that he favored "effective" bilingual programs for schoolchildren who did not speak English. In the past, he had tried to scrap Federal rules requiring them.

His effort to improve his political standing among women flagged when Barbara Honneger, a Justice Department political appointee, resigned, denouncing a project to eliminate sex discrimination from Federal and state laws as a "sham." A White House spokesman diagnosed the problem as one of "misperception." The Republican National Committee's prompt hiring of the President's daughter, Maureen Reagan, as a consultant to improve his image among women seemed likely to have less immediate effect than an Administration spokesman's dismissals of Miss Honneger as "a low-level Munchkin."

"I do not think Reagan is changing in any fundamental ideological sense," James MacGregor Burns, professor of political science at Williams College, said. "Tactically, he is obviously bending here and there to meet specific situations. But it's cosmetic, it's not a fundamental change in Reagan or his doctrine." President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Mr. Burns noted, would periodically declare a "breathing spell" and occasionally make concessions to business before heading off again in a more liberal direction.

'Dealing With Reality'

Nelson W. Polsby, professor of political science at the University of California at Berkeley, said he would not call Mr. Reagan's new tack "a flip-flop or disloyalty to one's ideals." "It's just dealing with reality," Mr. Polsby said. "He is running for re-election, not for renomination. Any person in his position has to recognize the constraints of the political system. He has to get elected by an electorate that is considerably to the left of the Republican heartland."

Herbert Stein, the economist who was a member of President Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers, called Mr. Nixon's surprise decision to impose wage and price controls in 1971 "a very radical shift, much more radical than anything Mr. Reagan has done so far." But Mr. Stein was

usurped the constitutional power of the President and Congress to determine spending priorities. In its formal appeal last week of a Federal district judge's order to hand over money for Chicago, the Justice Department argued that there were simply no more funds available.

Mr. Reagan contends that most of the budget changes adopted by Congress at his request slowed the rate of growth in Federal spending, but did not cut outlays in absolute terms. But the changes have been substantial when compared with the amounts that would have been spent under the laws that existed when he took office. The Congressional Budget Office said last week that the cutbacks totaled 60 percent in employment and training, 18 percent in education and social service and 28 percent in child nutrition. Striking a theme the Democrats are expected to press, Speaker of the House Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. said the report "cuts through the smoke-screen of Reagan public relations to the harsh truth of the Reagan record."

President Reagan runs at least two political risks in openly wooing groups more closely identified with the Democrats than the Republicans. He is dampening the enthusiasm of conservatives who worked so hard for his election in 1980. And he encourages judgment by standards alien to his career, and standards to which he can never measure up as well as a Democrat.



Illustrations by Nicholas Ayer

مكتبة من الامم المتحدة

Mrs. Thatcher Tests the Miners

By BARNABY J. FEDER

THERE is an old saying here that British politicians should not tangle with three institutions. One is the monarchy. Another is the church. And the third is the British coal miner.

Coal's centuries-old role in British energy and the miners' militant tradition has turned their periodic confrontations with British Governments into dramatic struggles. Those struggles frequently upset economic policies, and in 1974 a miners' strike for higher wages brought down the Conservative Government of Prime Minister Edward Heath, by forcing him to call an election, which he lost.

Despite these risks of tangling with the miners, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is making it abundantly clear that she is willing to take them on rather than back away from a policy of layoffs and a growing number of mine closings intended to revitalize the state-owned coal industry. In pursuit of revitalization, nine unprofitable mines were shut last year and six have been closed so far this year, including two ordered shut last week. Nevertheless, coal's losses grew by \$78 million in the last fiscal year, ended March 31, to \$180 million on revenues of \$7.54 billion.

"It is a protected industry," Mrs. Thatcher charged in a House of Commons speech last month. "It is an example of what happens to a protected industry. It's absolutely vital that it should return to viability."

Mrs. Thatcher has placed that task in the hands of Ian MacGregor, one of her favorite business executives, who is also well known on Wall Street, where he once was a partner in Lazard Frères & Company, the investment house. Mr. MacGregor takes over Thursday as chairman of the National Coal Board, the enterprise that runs British coal.

The 71-year-old Scottish-born executive is the personification of Mrs. Thatcher's tough management policy, a policy aimed at remaking ponderous, state-owned industries into market-oriented operations able to survive without government subsidy. Mr. MacGregor comes to the new job from three years as chairman of the nationalized British Steel Corporation, during which he cut the labor force from 130,000 to 80,000, reduced steelmaking capacity by about one-half, to 14.4 million tons annually, and almost eliminated the huge annual deficit.

BUT coal miners are not steel workers. Mr. MacGregor is facing off against a mine union leader — Arthur Scargill — whose militancy and unabashed devotion to socialism has made him as much a symbol as Mr. Scargill personifies worker opposition to Mrs. Thatcher's policies. In the four years of her Government, those policies have weakened unions by reducing pay settlements, forcing work rule changes that increase productivity and placing limits on picketing and the closed union shop.

Mr. Scargill has fought Mrs. Thatcher most of the way, and now he is pressing his National Union of Mineworkers to strike if the coal mine shutdowns continue. Because of his leadership, the outcome of such a strike would go far beyond the coal industry, probably determining whether Mrs. Thatcher could continue her tough policies in the aftermath of her re-election victory last June. "It will be an obvious test of the militancy of the miners and could be a decisive conflict between the working class and the Government," said Emyln Williams, president of the Mineworkers' South Wales branch. Those who agree with Mr. Williams believe that the outcome of any confrontation would influence the wage, benefit and job security demands of the nation's other unions. A miners' victory would jeopardize Mrs. Thatcher's entire economic policy by undermining her efforts to control inflation through lower wage increases and improved productivity. Such a victory would also reverberate in the United States where President Reagan has warmly endorsed Mrs. Thatcher's economic thinking.

Though Mr. MacGregor declined to be interviewed on the brewing confrontation and on his role as the new Coal Board chief — Mr. MacGregor rarely grants interviews, the widely held view is that the Coal Board, under his direction, will step up closings of money-losing mines and will reduce the work force in the process. That expectation led Mr. Scargill in July to characterize Mr. MacGregor as "Mrs. Thatcher's hatchet man."

"Miners will have to take direct action if we are to save our industry, our jobs, our self-respect and dignity," Mr. Scargill said in a speech at his union's annual convention last month. The wild card in any assessment of whether Mr. Scargill's exhortation will be heeded is the mineworker himself. He is a man who would be hardly recognizable to previous generations of miners once he takes a shower at the end of his shift.

Before the big coal strikes of 1972 and 1974, mineworkers earned the equivalent of \$38 a week at today's exchange rate, which was below the average national wage of \$40. Now, according to government statistics, he's among the nation's best-paid workers, earning the equivalent of \$272 a week, including overtime, compared with the national average of \$198.

THE miner is more likely today than a decade ago to own a home and a car, more likely to derive substantial pay bonuses for high per-

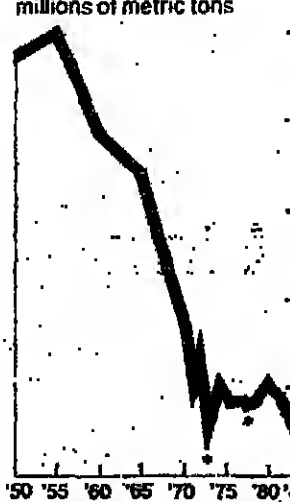


British miners leaving their colliery at the start of a strike.

Mighty British Coal in Its Autumn Years

Output Continues To Fall...

Total production, in millions of metric tons



*Production levels low because of strikes
**Annual rate as of Aug. 13

More Mines Are Closing...

Mines operating at year-end



†As of Aug. 26

And Miners' Ranks Are Shrinking

Total mine employment, yearly average, in thousands



††As of Aug. 13
Source: British National Coal Board

formance, more likely to have traveled abroad on vacation — in short, more middle-class and, according to many familiar with the industry, more reluctant to strike than in the less-affluent old days.

"The mineworkers are very attracted to people who talk tough when they select their leaders, but they don't necessarily react every time their watchdog barks," said Lord Ezra, chairman of the Coal Board from 1970 to 1981.

Michael McGahey, head of the Scottish miners and vice chairman of the National Union of Mineworkers, believes that the union's problem is not with the young miners, who realize they need a secure job to support mortgages and might strike to keep their security, but with older miners inclined to accept large severance payments when their mines are shut.

"How do you convince a man that his job belongs to the next generation?" Mr. McGahey asked. Whatever their source, the splits have been enough to prevent a full-scale strike as long as the Coal Board has approached closings with what those in Britain's Northeast — a coal area — call the "softly, softly, capture the monkey" approach. Whether Mr. MacGregor can step up the closings, as he is expected to do, without driving the miners into a strike is the looming question.

Mr. MacGregor, a stocky, short man like Mr. Scargill, is considered as intense about his work as the union leader. A Daily Mail newspaper profile described him as a workaholic, even at 71, whose "idea of fishing is to drop a line in the water and if there's no immediate response wander off to the nearest phone box to make business calls." Analysts say that he is being counted on by the Thatcher Government to do more than simply close unprofitable mines, a process that has already brought the number of deep mines and open pit operations down to 184 this month from 223 at the beginning of 1979.

He also must get his 200,000 employees — there were nearly 235,000 at the start of the Thatcher Govern-

ment in 1979 — to settle for a lower wage increase in contract talks this fall than they might like. The average union pay settlement for all British industries has been about 6 percent this year, slightly above the current annual inflation rate of 4.3 percent. That's down sharply from 18 percent in 1980.

Another challenge for Mr. MacGregor, according to analysts, is gaining worker agreement to use high-technology equipment in the mines, including computer-controlled mining, that will result in higher production with fewer workers at both new mines and new coal faces in older mines. Moreover, according to many experts, he is expected to look for opportunities to reorganize the Coal Board into more autonomous units that might someday be sold to private investors as part of Mrs. Thatcher's denationalization program.

The outspoken Mr. Scargill, who has been dubbed King Arthur by some newspapers, is seldom out of the headlines, despite having moved the union's headquarters from London to Sheffield to be nearer the Yorkshire coalfields, from which he rose to prominence and to leadership of the miners' union 15 months ago. However, he has twice in the past year failed to convince members to strike in support of fellow workers whose mines were being closed. That might be partly a result of the inducement of severance and early retirement payments totaling as much as \$63,000 in a few cases, and an early retirement age lowered last March to 50 from 55.

MR. SCARGILL'S strong anti-nuclear stand and other political activities — he has spent the past week leading a British miners delegation to a peace conference in Moscow — have made him all the more irritating to the Government. Mr. Scargill and his supporters have also prevented the Coal Board's pension funds for its employees from investing in foreign equities or in industries, such as oil, which compete with coal.

"It's the sort of situation where you could get fireworks at any time," said Colin Robinson, an economist at the University of Surrey who has studied the industry.

If there is a confrontation this fall, perhaps during the scheduled contract talks, its impact is bound to be felt far beyond the coal industry. To start with, the miners would most likely rely on fellow unionists, particularly transportation workers, to make their strike felt quickly, and the battle would become the first major test of worker sentiment toward Mrs. Thatcher's Government since it was returned to office on June 9 in a landslide that included a sizable number of worker votes.

Mr. MacGregor will move into the board's headquarters overlooking the Buckingham Palace gardens at a time when only 42 percent of the Coal Board's output comes from mines that are operated at a profit, according to a recent report by the Monopolies and Mergers Commission of the Department of Industry and Trade.

The report identified 70 underground mines as the core of the problem. Most of the 70, which accounted for about 18 percent of the more than 120 million metric tons in the 1982 fiscal year, lost about \$15 per ton, the report said. In general, the Coal Board said, it has lost money on nearly all of its underground mines while the open pit or strip mining operations have been profitable, although they account for only 10 percent of British production.

Mr. MacGregor's experience in coal mining, as chief executive in the 1960's of AMAX Inc., a Connecticut-based mining and metals corporation, is likely to bias the Coal Board toward strip mining, analysts said. That was the principal AMAX coal operation during his tenure.

Under a plan agreed to in 1974 with the Government and the unions, the Board is expected to close mines with a total of 3 million to 4 million tons capacity annually, but in recent years it has fallen well below that rate in order to maintain peace with the union.

The Economy

WEEK IN BUSINESS

The United States and Russia signed a five-year grain agreement worth some \$10 billion to American farmers. It was the first major trade pact between the two countries since President Carter imposed a partial grain embargo in response to the Soviet Union's military intervention into Afghanistan in December 1979. The agreement, which takes effect Oct. 1, commits the Russians to buy between nine and 12 million tons of grain a year from the United States. And the Reagan Administration seemed downright apologetic. At a news conference following the signing ceremony in Moscow, Agriculture Secretary John R. Block (right) described the Carter embargo as "a distasteful chapter" that had hurt American farmers and "forced" the Soviet Union into the arms of other suppliers. And he promised better conduct. "We want not only to be a good supplier — we want to be the best supplier for the U.S.S.R.," the secretary said.



productivity rose 6.1 percent, the best increase in almost eight years. But the budget deficit kept growing, climbing \$21.41 billion last month to \$179.82 for the first 10 months of the current fiscal year. Some other things are bothering Edward Hyman, economist at C. J. Lawrence. He noted in his weekly newsletter that Treasury bill rates of 9½ percent, record high real interest rates, a strong dollar, a slackening in consumer purchases and the weakness in the stock market are all placing a drag on the economy. Mr. Hyman is expecting no more than 6 percent real growth in the current quarter.

Interest rates jittered continued, especially after the Federal Reserve drained money from the banking system on Thursday through a one-day sale of Treasury securities. It was a signal that the central bank had not eased up on monetary policy and bond prices plunged. The downward pressure on prices and a corresponding rise in rates continued Friday. A \$200 million drop in the money supply was not enough for Wall Street, which had expected a steeper drop, and interest rates jumped. The stock market could not decide which way to go, moving up and down during the week. The Dow Jones closing 2.14 lower, at 1,192.07.

Hostage Money. Iran paid the Export-Import Bank some \$419.5 million to settle claims dating back to the 1979-80 hostage crisis. The settlement is reimbursement for money the Iranian Government borrowed to buy Boeing 707's, G.M. locomotives, General Telephone microwave stations and parts for General Electric thermal power plants. "It's been a tough road," said William R. Draper, president of the bank.

The I.M.F. has a tough road, too. It is currently seeking an emergency \$6 billion loan from industrial countries and Saudi Arabia. In the wake of heavy lending to recession-troubled developing countries, its borrowed resources are low.

Jake Butcher — millionaire, banking entrepreneur, twice candidate for governor of Tennessee, organizer of the Knoxville World's Fair and owner of the failed United Bank of Knoxville — was declared bankrupt by a Federal Bankruptcy Court in Knoxville. It was the second Butcher bankruptcy in as many months — his brother C.H. Butcher was forced into bankruptcy July 17. Not too long ago, Jake Butcher was dealt in loans totaling millions of dollars. Now, by court order, he's restricted to transactions of \$1,000, or less.

Nathaniel C. Nash

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED AUGUST 26, 1983

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
ATT	5,417,300	64 1/2	+ 1/2
Chrysler	4,612,300	26	+ 1/2
IBM	4,427,100	11 1/2	- 1/2
Exxon	3,707,800	37 1/2	- 1/2
Pan Am	3,177,300	7 1/2	- 1/2
Seas	3,163,900	36 1/2	- 2
Gen El	2,953,400	48 1/2	+ 1/2
US Steel	2,868,900	27	- 1/2
Mobil	2,865,300	32 1/2	- 1/2
G Mot	2,845,800	68 1/2	+ 1/2
El Paso	2,815,400	23 1/2	+ 2
duPont	2,717,800	52 1/2	+ 3 1/2
Healtin	2,645,100	45 1/2	- 1/2
Alcan	2,597,300	38 1/2	+ 1/2
AMR Co	2,491,800	28 1/2	+ 1/2

MARKET DIARY

	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	781	1,225
Declines	1,163	743
Total Issues	2,204	2,203
New Highs	94	116
New Lows	25	24

VOLUME

	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	347,225,560	14,195,430,871
Same Per. 1982	549,830,554	8,756,293,390

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

	High	Low	Last Change
New York Stock Exchange			
Index	111.7	107.8	109.1 -1.55
Transp	87.8	86.0	87.5 +0.33
Utilities	47.6	47.1	47.2 +0.06
Finance	87.4	84.8	85.4 -1.53
Composites	85.7	82.7	83.8 -1.12

Standard & Poor's

	Sales	Last	Net Chng
400 Indust	187.9	179.3	182.8 -2.16
20 Transp	26.8	26.0	26.7 +0.23
400 Util	65.8	64.4	65.0 -0.20
400 Financial	19.2	18.3	18.6 -0.41
500 Stocks	166.4	159.2	162.1 -1.84

Dow Jones

	Sales	Last	Net Chng
30 Indust	1216.2	1173.2	1192.0 -2.14
20 Transp	540.3	519.3	532.5 -1.23
18 Util	131.8	129.8	131.0 -0.16
65 Comb	478.2	482.1	470.4 -0.71

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED AUGUST 26, 1983

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
Wang B	2,126,700	30 1/2	- 1/2
Andril	1,854,300	17 1/2	- 1/2
DomeP	1,154,500	4 1/2	- 1/2
ImpCh	796,000	6 1/2	- 1/2
TesAkr	744,800	7	- 1/2
Reart wt	604,100	9 1/2	+ 1/2
TRE	573,400	33 1/2	- 2 1/2
Instdy	545,500	8 1/2	+ 1/2
Reart A	498,900	42 1/2	- 1/2
Teleph	444,900	9 1/2	- 1/2

MARKET DIARY

	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	255	423
Declines	543	367
Total Issues	916	915
New Highs	21	32
New Lows	22	16

VOLUME

	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	30,540,085	1,495,858,039
Same Per. 1982	37,744,805	710,768,000

BROADWAY 80

WARNING — The Ministry of Health has determined that smoking is harmful to health.

I'm glad I changed.

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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Getting High on High-Tech Weapons

The Pentagon is debating how far the next generation of armaments should depend on highly computerized systems, which are capable of scanning the battlefield and devastating the enemy with precisely targeted missiles. That the debate is taking place at all reflects the Pentagon's reluctance to learn from experience.

No one disputes the need for better conventional weapons that, some experts conclude, might permit a delay in wartime decisions to use nuclear arms. But in developing such weapons, it's folly to let high technology become an end in itself.

High technology can help or hinder military effectiveness. The Pentagon has repeatedly used it to enhance qualities that are of marginal importance to real combat. It has focused the design of major weapons systems on high-tech means of engaging the enemy at vast distances, at the cost of degrading performance under real combat conditions.

Planes and ships, for example, have extremely powerful radars to spot the enemy way off. But the radars, like searchlights in the dark, emblazon the sender's position to the enemy. That's what happened in the Falkland war when Argentina sank the British H.M.S. Sheffield with an Exocet missile.

Since there's no reliable means, beyond visual distance, of distinguishing friendly planes from foe, pilots often wait for targets to come into view before firing. But at such close range, cannon or simple heat-seeking missiles are the better weapons. These accounted for almost all the kills made by Israeli pilots during the Lebanon war. The U.S. Air Force's costly new radar missiles contributed little or nothing to the rout of the Syrian Air Force.

In land warfare too, great effort has been made to engage the enemy at the greatest distances, even though most combat occurs at much shorter range. The Pentagon loses sight of the factors that count in real battles in other ways. The Navy elects to build nuclear attack submarines instead of diesel-electrics, which are quieter and cost a fourth as much. The Air Force prefers supersonic planes and bombers to aircraft that can fly slowly enough to support ground troops. The Army chose to build the hot-rod M-1 tank instead of doing what the Israelis did: improve the reliable old M-48 so well that it smashed the Syrians' Soviet-supplied T-72's — the tanks that were the M-1's *raison d'être*.

Some "smart" weapons seem downright dumb. The Army's Copperhead artillery shell is meant to kill tanks by riding along a reflected laser beam. The soldier who aims the laser at the tank can be instantly detected by the night-vision devices standard on Soviet tanks, yet must hold the beam on the tank for 13 seconds, a suicidal task.

Tactical flexibility and initiative are what compensate for the American Army's numerical inferiorities in Europe, as against the centralized rigidity of the Soviet command structure. How better to destroy that advantage than by forcing all decisions on a battlefield through central computers? How more certain to guarantee *fiasco* than by relying on sensors that are bound to be confused in the chaos of battle and "smart" weapons likely to work one-tenth as well as the contractor promises?

As shown in Lebanon and the Falklands, wars are won by tactics and training, not complex gadgets. When the internal goals of military bureaucracies make tactics subordinate to technology, high-tech weapons may mean only weaker defense.

When a Church Becomes a Landmark

In New York City, the owner of a building declared to be a landmark cannot change or demolish it without permission from the Landmarks Commission, and that raises a special problem for churches and synagogues. Often enough, affluent members move away, leaving behind a shrunken congregation to bear the costs of preserving a decaying building. The no-change provisions of the landmark law make it impossible for them to alter the building or sell it and move.

That's why an interfaith committee of religious leaders has asked the Legislature to exempt religious buildings from the landmark law unless a specific religious group requests otherwise. A bill to that effect was rejected in Albany this year, but it will be back. Though religious institutions should remain subject to a landmark law, the existing one needs change.

The problem with the law is that it makes the owner alone bear the cost of maintaining a landmark. If it is a commercial building, the public can assist by giving the owner a tax exemption or, if the owner does not earn 6 percent per year on its value, the Landmarks Commission can buy it. The first of these benefits is valueless to religious buildings. They are already tax-exempt. The second benefit, allowing the city to purchase an interest in the landmark, has simply never been used.

Under the city's zoning laws, some landmark buildings can be assisted in a third way: They may be allowed to sell their unused development rights — air rights — for use elsewhere in a very limited area. That may permit St. Bartholomew's Church on Park Avenue to reconstruct its community house. Congregation Shearith Israel on Central

Park West proposes to sell its air rights for a tall apartment house adjacent to its sanctuary.

Many people like the low profile of landmarked religious buildings and are appalled by the bulk of the structures that would replace them. They object to the exploitation of development rights in this way. But size and bulk are regulated by zoning, not the landmarks law. So long as zoning permits bulky buildings in a part of the city, bulky buildings will be built, irrespective of the landmark law.

Still, even such indirect assistance may not help a struggling congregation enough. Hence the interfaith committee urges that religious institutions be made wholly exempt from the landmarks law. To the clergymen, the question comes down to the separation between church and state. Religious institutions alone should have the power to decide whether their buildings are suitable, they contend.

There's much the city could do to encourage religious institutions short of accepting such an exemption. It might enlarge the area in which landmark churches could sell their air rights. It might buy part of landmarked religious buildings — community houses, rectories and ancillary structures. It could reconstruct these harmoniously to accommodate current congregational needs that the religious institutions cannot finance, and rent the new spaces to credit-worthy institutions.

If, however, the site of a religious institution is so inconvenient that further functioning proves to be impossible, a landmarked religious corporation should be allowed to sell its property and use the proceeds to establish itself elsewhere.

Landmarks are a public good, and the burden of preserving them need not fall so heavily on so few shoulders.

Topics

Soothing Sights and Sounds

Supercouch

"Xanadu," located in the Florida amusement park belt, is just another House of the Future, this time based on computers. They monitor temperature and light levels, even raise and lower the blinds as sun and clouds move across the sky. They write menus and keep track of what's available in the pantry and refrigerator.

More interesting is the computerized couch in the living room, or "sensorium." Its sensors invisibly take your pulse, calculate your mood and provide appropriate musical and visual responses: soothing Mozart and Monet, perhaps, if you seem too agitated; the Rolling Stones and Jackson Pollock if you seem too calm.

Such a couch has real possibilities, most notably for psychotherapy. New generations of biofeedback might eliminate any need for a live therapist. The couch itself would digest the subject's comments and emotional state and offer the appropriate response.

Would automating therapy save money? Probably not at first. Even at today's elevated rates, it would take a lot of sessions to amortize the \$50,000 I.B.M. might charge for a hardware/software package capable of sorting out a multiple personality. But it wouldn't be long before Sony, say, came out with a simpler model (call

it the "MSW") for under \$100 and capable of saying all the things most customers ever hear from their therapists anyway: "I see," "How did that make you feel?" and "Let's talk about it."

Natural Combos

Some of our favorite combos get their gigs together each year for the month of August. They're bands of wildflowers, and like most musicians, they're always on the road, or at least, in profusion, along the roadside. Some, such as the evening primrose, keep the nocturnal hours of the traditional jazzman. Others, like the blooms of true-blue chicory and morning glory, sit in only for a day.

Wildflower combos this time of year improvise their mixes: of Queen Anne's lace, moth mullein, black-eyed Susan, spotted knapweed, teasel, fireweed, purple loosestrife, thistle, goldenrod, wild snapdragon, clover, bee balm, to name a few.

Usually they jam together — soloists are rare — creating roadside compositions of color that have the tone parallels of a Duke Ellington, the surprise crisscross harmonies of a Thelonious Monk, the exuberant syncopation of a Eubie Blake rag.

That is, of course, until the official reapers behold the meadows in the

nama of roadside maintenance. Why not leave them alone for these few weeks? Doing so would save time and money, as well as upping New York's summer quotient of natural beauty. The roadside combos deserve the chance to play themselves out.

Pricing Prose

Manhattan's street peddlers sell souvlaki, gold chains, umbrellas, scarves, luggage, radios, incense, ice cream, assorted headgear (most recently, a visored cap that sports blinking lights) and house plants.

And now one of them sells words. Having had no luck with publishers, he is peddling his novel directly to the public, on the street.

More interesting than the novel itself, perhaps, is his retailing approach. He sells the book chapter by chapter, for 75 cents a piece.

By that formula, James Michener's "Poland" (10 chapters) is a bit pricey at \$17.50, while Norman Mailer's "Ancient Evenings" (31) is a steal at \$19.95.

Among the greatest bargains around, however, are some books whose real value — inestimable — has already been determined by time. At 75 cents a chapter, "Oliver Twist" would cost \$39.75; "Moby Dick," \$78.75. The price of the Bible would boggle the mind.

Letters

Aquino's Dream and Foreboding

To the Editor:

In mid-July I telephoned Senator Aquino, partly to get his views on the complexity of the United States and Japan in perpetuating the cruel Reagan-Kirkpatrickesque hoax that President Marcos of the Philippines is a benign, anti-Communist (therefore "good") authoritarian and that he is moving to restore true democracy there. I made this call also to dissuade Aquino from returning to his country at this time.

Aquino was determined as ever to return home. He was fully convinced that both President Marcos and the Communists wanted him dead, but he was also convinced that only by risking his life at this critical moment for the Philippines could he hope to expose to the world the terrible dictatorship of President Marcos, propped up by the United States and Japan. Otherwise, he told me, the present Administrations of the United States and Japan would continue to deceive their own gullible voters and the world about the supposed promise of President Marcos to return to democracy.

We speculated that Aquino would likely be killed right on the spot at the airport if President Marcos wanted

him dead. President Marcos would not risk letting him begin to galvanize anti-Marcos democratic forces. On the other hand, we concluded that the Communists would likely wait for a while to see to what extent Aquino's efforts to unite anti-Marcos forces would undermine the dictatorship of President and Mrs. Marcos.

Aquino had reasons to believe that President Marcos was setting the stage to assassinate him. By warning Aquino and the world of the supposed Communist plot to kill him, President Marcos was preparing the world to accept the murder of his most formidable opponent and to discredit the Communists at the same time.

But in the end, Senator Aquino's patriotism and his unquenchable optimism made him return to Manila. He was hopeful, even then, that President Marcos might eventually see the advantage of working with him toward the restoration of democracy in the Philippines.

Senator Aquino's last words to me were, "Professor, please pray for me and the Philippines."

YOSHI TSURUMI
Professor of International Business
Baruch College
New York, Aug. 22, 1983

Guatemalan Coup With a Difference

To the Editor:

It is a mistake to argue, as do Stephen Schlesinger (Op-Ed Aug. 11) and Fausto Anguilla (Letter Aug. 21) that the significance of Guatemala's Aug. 8 coup is its insignificance.

To argue, as both do, that Mejia Victores is just another general in the mold of Rios Montt and the many military leaders who preceded him is like arguing that Jesse Helms and Christopher Dodd are like-minded because both belong to the U.S. Senate.

Schlesinger correctly points to Rios Montt's bizarre personality and his fundamentalist fanaticism as liabilities. But he glosses over his institution, on Aug. 1, of a value-added tax that was bitterly opposed by Guatemala's wealthy elite.

And he fails to mention Rios Montt's consistent refusal to toe a hard-line anti-Communist foreign policy favored by the Reagan Administration in Central America. A week before his ouster, Rios Montt — an ardent nationalist — rallied against both the United States and the Soviet Union, saying that "the East-West confrontation must be removed from this [Central American] area."

During his first days in office, Mejia Victores called for a "review" of the value-added tax and issued numerous statements in support of President Reagan and the hard-line army commanders in El Salvador and Honduras against the Government of Nicaragua. Reports appeared of a military agreement between Guatemala and El Salvador. Guatemala also requested military aid from the United States.

Thus, in foreign policy and perhaps in relations with the national elite, the Aug. 8 coup holds a profound significance.

It is quite clear that Mejia Victores fits much easier than did his predecessor into an ideological mold sought by the Guatemalan elite, the anti-Sandinista military chiefs of Guatemala's two neighbors to the south and the Reagan Administration.

This conjunction of beneficiaries is what leads to speculation about the meeting of the three military chiefs and U.S. Southern Command official Gen. Fred Woerner in Honduras on the day prior to the Guatemalan coup. It is a "coincidence" that The Times has not sufficiently investigated.

JAMES RUDOLPH
Washington, Aug. 22, 1983

How Tamperproof Computerized Arms?

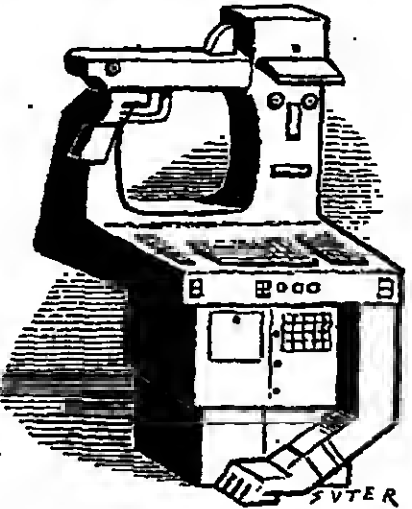
To the Editor:

Two front-page stories in The Times of Aug. 23 couldn't have been more chillingly placed: "Pentagon Debat-

(nuclear?) weapons exchange, the prospect of even greater precariousness apparently lies ahead."

If a few bright kids can skirt current computer security systems, attention had better be turned to safeguarding computers before allowing them the capability to wage our wars for us. Until virtually impregnable systems exist, the hazards far outweigh the benefits.

JACK GESCHWIND
New York, Aug. 23, 1983



ing Commitment to Complex Computerized Arms" above "Trial and Error by Intruders Led to Entry Into Computers." As if saboteurs don't already have adequate opportunity to ignite a

A Murder Suspect Not Acquitted

To the Editor:

Twice in the past few days I have read that the man arrested and tried for the murder of Medgar Evers in Jackson, Miss., 20 years ago was acquitted by an all-white jury.

Harry S. Ashmore, in his recent book, "Hearts and Minds: The Anatomy of Racism from Roosevelt to Reagan," writes that he was "set free by a white jury." And now The Times (Aug. 18), in a front-page news story on the changes in Mississippi during the past 20 years, has it that "a white man was promptly arrested and just as promptly tried and acquitted by an all-white jury."

The white man in question is Byron de la Beckwith of Greenwood, Miss., and he was tried twice but neither convicted or acquitted by two all-white juries, both trials having ended in hung juries. The last time I checked, a few years ago, Beckwith was still under indictment for the murder, though no one expected him to be brought to trial again.

The point — and an important one, I think — is that even in the Mississippi of 20 years ago, some white jurors voted to convict Beckwith. And the state, through its vigorous prosecution by District Attorney William Waller (later Governor of Mississippi) and its refusal to drop the indictment, indicated at the very least a kind of official disapproval.

I talked with Beckwith 10 years ago in Greenwood, and his refusal to discuss the case even then on the advice of his lawyer indicated to me at least that he still lived in some fear of prosecution. Some time later he was arrested, tried and convicted of carrying weapons and explosives into Louisiana, and he served time in that state.

WILLIAM PETERS
New Haven, Aug. 18, 1983

The writer, director of Yale University Films, is co-author, with Myrtle Evers (widow of Medgar Evers), of "For Us, the Living."

Permanent Poverty

To the Editor:

William P. O'Hare's arguments on the measurement of poverty ("Poverty's Bottom Line," Op-Ed Aug. 19) are reasonable enough, but his recommendation is unnecessarily complex.

I suggest that the poverty level be more simply defined as the lowest income decile. Besides simplification, this definition has three other advantages: It would immediately cut poverty by one-third; it would eliminate any job-security fears that welfare administrators and social workers might have, and it would satisfy the old description "The poor, ye shall always have with ye."

CLIFTON B. RODES
Louisville, Ky., Aug. 19, 1983

Barbie and the U.S.: 'Sorry' Is Not Enough

To the Editor:

The Klaus Barbie affair deserves a much more searching and forthright inquiry than the one developed by Allan Ryan Jr. for the Department of Justice.

Aided by the United States, Barbie, who sent thousands to the Nazi gas ovens, was able to escape justice and live for three decades in freedom in an organization with many members who are Holocaust survivors and cooperated with the French underground in rescuing Jews caught in the toils of Vichy France, we demand the kind of investigation which will uncover by name those who gave the orders and those who carried them out.

The Nuremberg trials rejected the lame excuse that individuals who aided and abetted the commission of crimes were simply "following or-

ders." We deport and deprive of American citizenship those Nazi functionaries who lied about their past. We applauded when Israel had a full-scale investigation of the Beirut massacre and named names of those who acted in reckless disregard of responsibility.

The blot of shame on American counterintelligence and the military cannot be wiped out by a "We're sorry" statement to the French Government. Let us be clear. The means we employ affect the ends.

Democracy, freedom and justice cannot be served by employing murderers or by lying and covering up. We must find the courage to root out of our Government those opportunists who will stop at nothing.

ISRAEL KUGLER
President, Workmen's Circle
New York, Aug. 18, 1983

'Totally Groundless' Report on Poland

To the Editor:

I would like to raise our strong objections to the extreme inaccuracies contained in John Kifner's Aug. 9 report "Polish Primate Halts Farm Aid Talks," alleging a recent conflict between the Government and the church, a refusal by the Polish primate to meet with the Prime Minister.

As Mr. Kifner should know very well, this allegation is totally groundless — "completely false," as put by the Polish Episcopate press spokesman, the Reverend Orszulik, when he was asked by Warsaw correspondents of A.P., Reuters and A.F.P. The Reverend Orszulik has also authorized the embassy to issue a denial.

The New York Times has never corrected this misinformation.

We are sorry to say that this example of inaccurate reporting by the New York Times correspondent in Warsaw is no exception. Mr. Kifner's reports very often are misleading and generally biased. The question is whether this is his purposeful activity or just a case of poor journalism.

In the long run, the picture of Poland gets more and more distorted, hindering the understanding of our affairs, while perhaps pleasing those who still harbor most ridiculous illusions about Poland.

ANDRZEJ DOBRZYNSKI
First Secretary, Embassy
of the Polish People's Republic
Washington, Aug. 25, 1983

A Begin Statement Ready for Arab Testing

To the Editor:

The assumption is made by many, including Patrick Cockburn in his Aug. 22 Op-Ed piece, that Israeli settlement of the West Bank will preclude a peace settlement between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

The fact is that there was no peace settlement when Jordan's Arab Legion took the West Bank and held it for 19 years. The Israelis are setting

the West Bank precisely because they want peace, and they know that without the security that they hope for from such settlement there can be no peace.

Menachem Begin has said, "All things are possible for peace." Will another Arab leader come forward to test him?

ARNOLD S. GREENSPAN
Briarcliff Manor, N.Y., Aug. 22, 1983

The New York Times Company
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Feed Ethiopia Fast

By Jack Shepherd

NORWICH, Vt. — The Administration's reported steps to seek United Nations and private assistance to provide food to Ethiopia, where perhaps a million people are starving, is commendable. But if the Administration is serious, it can provide that relief more easily.

The Agency for International Development reportedly has asked private aid agencies to become involved in improving distribution of food and asked them to formulate plans; but such plans already exist. The Administration will seek \$3 million in fiscal 1984 funds from Congress — funds not available until Oct. 1, earlier, President Reagan had cut such funds. And it is asking the United Nations Disaster Relief Organization to coordinate and oversee relief aid to Ethiopia; but the agency has been doing that since May.

Skepticism about the seriousness of the reported undertaking arises from the Administration's actions toward Africa. Mr. Reagan has cut food aid to Africa every year he has been in office. He totally eliminated funding for food relief for Ethiopia in fiscal 1984, apparently because of the Marxist regime's policies. This year, Washington has sent a meager 2,000 tons of corn to Ethiopia.

In addition to the starvation in Ethiopia, the worst famine in 10 years has been sweeping across 17 more African countries. Instead of sending food, in July the President doubled military aid to the world's hungriest continent. Meanwhile, this summer, the Administration is paying American farmers \$9 billion to cut food production.

Mr. Reagan is missing a rare opportunity for an imaginative and peaceful foreign policy in Africa. Nowhere is this opportunity greater than in Ethiopia, suffering its worst drought and famine since 1973-74. Unlike the situation 10 years ago, when Haile Selassie's Government covered up the existence of famine for six months — and 250,000 peasants starved to death — Lieut. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam's regime did not ignore warning signals.

In September 1982, the Ethiopian Relief and Rehabilitation Commission alerted international donors that two million Ethiopians needed food urgently. But as in 1973-74, the international response was slow. Not until May — eight months after the first warning — did the United Nations

Food and Agriculture Organization notify 27 nations, including the United States, asking food aid for Ethiopia.

The donors were slow for two reasons. First, the Marxist Mengistu Government — in the past, a flagrant violator of human rights — is one of the most pro-Soviet regimes in Africa. It owes Moscow \$2 billion for arms, and there are some 2,500 Soviet advisers, 3,000 East Germans and 11,000 Cubans in Ethiopia. (The Communist nations now supplying Ethiopia have contributed nothing to alleviate its starvation — a fact not overlooked by Ethiopians.) Some potential donors delayed responses while chasing rumors that Colonel Mengistu was siphoning off locally held relief food for his troops and that the food shortage was actually caused by Soviet diversion of Ethiopian grain as payment for arms. Neither proved correct. Second, the three most severely hit provinces — Tigre, Wollo, Eritrea — are splintered by guerrilla war. The guerrilla fronts, some of which have been fighting since 1962, have their own relief organizations, which claim to be operating feeding stations in rural areas they hold. A delicate question, therefore, is: Who should receive relief grain? Church groups, private aid agencies and the United Nations now supply some food regardless of politics.

Mr. Reagan's reported humanitarian opening is a positive, but inadequate, signal to the Ethiopian people. Recent estimates indicate that more than three million need food — and that number may increase. American satellite photographs suggest that Ethiopia will suffer a two million ton grain deficit by the end of 1983.

If he wants to, Mr. Reagan can respond to Ethiopian needs faster than he is now. America stores one-half the world's entire surplus food grains. Mr. Reagan also controls more than four million tons of grain in a reserve, established in 1960, specifically for famine relief. Moreover, the Food for Peace law enables him to donate emergency food through international organizations like the World Food Program or volunteer relief agencies such as Care. He doesn't have to ask other private organizations or the United Nations to formulate plans of action — the means of action already exist.

Mr. Reagan should reinstate Food for Peace aid to Ethiopia, and speedily direct famine relief. To delay is to invite a repetition of the 1973-74 tragedy. In addition, he should immediately use emergency reserves and surplus grains, as needed, for aid to the 17 other African states.

Justice Brandeis And the Caseload

By Lewis J. Paper

WASHINGTON — They were confidential conversations between a United States Supreme Court Justice and an intimate friend. The subject was the Court's workload. The Justice felt that too many of the nation's problems were being brought to the Federal courts, and, more than that, he was concerned that his colleagues were too willing to rely on personal prejudice in resolving those problems, especially in cases involving minority rights under the 14th Amendment. The Justice acknowledged, though, that there was no way to prevent those pitfalls — except, perhaps, by repealing the 14th Amendment, and otherwise limiting the kinds of cases that could be filed in Federal court.

The speakers were not contemporary conservatives but two liberals of the past: Justice Louis D. Brandeis and Felix Frankfurter, at the time a Harvard law professor.

Much has changed since Mr. Brandeis and Mr. Frankfurter confided in each other in the 1920's and 1930's. For example, the minority interests they discussed were those of business, not ethnic or racial groups. Despite the changes, Mr. Brandeis's views on the Supreme Court are still timely.

Congress, largely at the urging of Chief Justice Warren E. Burger and the Reagan Administration, is considering a variety of bills that would restrict the Supreme Court's powers and reduce its workload by creating a new national court of appeals. The bills may be relatively recent, but the issue is largely the same one that preoccupied Mr. Brandeis: the ability of nine Justices to hear and fairly decide all the cases that come before them.

Two principles governed Justice Brandeis's assessment of the issue.

First, he thought that Federal courts — and especially the Supreme Court — should be restricted to cases that involved only Federal issues. Too often, he observed, parties resorted to a Federal court when a state court could decide the matter.

Second, the Supreme Court's responsibility was to establish basic principles of law, not to do justice in

individual cases. The point was brought home when one of Mr. Brandeis's law clerks urged him to have the Court hear a matter involving the Federal Government's mistreatment of an alien. Although he felt sorry for the alien, Mr. Brandeis voted against hearing the case because he thought that there was nothing significant about it.

Against this backdrop, Mr. Brandeis wanted Congress to eliminate Federal jurisdiction based on "diversity of citizenship" — cases where the plaintiff and defendant are residents of different states. It was originally thought that such jurisdiction was needed to prevent a state court's bias in favor of parties from the same state. To Mr. Brandeis, however, the possible benefits could not justify the tremendous increase in the Federal courts' caseload (diversity cases still account for approximately 25 percent of the civil suits filed in Federal courts).

A hope for improved efficiency was not the only impetus for Justice Brandeis's desire to limit the Federal caseload. He also wanted state courts to remain the final arbiters of state laws. He believed in local control, and localism was meaningless without the power to make binding decisions. So he told Mr. Frankfurter that "in no case practically should the appellate Federal courts have to pass on

His views remain timely

the construction of state statutes." Since state courts at present handle more than 98 percent of the millions of civil lawsuits filed each year, it may be unrealistic to ask them to assume more responsibilities. But the pressure of added duties may be a catalyst for innovation. As Mr. Brandeis once observed: "It is one of the happy incidents of the Federal system that a single courageous state may, if its citizens choose, serve as a laboratory; and try moral, social and economic experiments without risk to the rest of the country."

There is already evidence of such experimentation as states seek better ways to handle an increasingly litigious society. Some states, for instance, have adopted no-fault divorce laws and other streamlined procedures to handle citizens' complaints. The incentives for experimentation may increase if state courts do acquire more control over the nation's caseload.

None of this should suggest that the problems of judicial administration are easy to define, let alone easy to correct. Justice Brandeis would have been among the first to acknowledge the difficulties of the task. But his views show that answers should not be formulated on the basis of partisan consideration. Those who try to dictate the political direction of courts may later find themselves on the tiger's back.

LEWISBURG, Pa. — A software company in Norman, Okla., advertised a full college course for my Atari with 16 programs, 8 cassettes, 32 tests and "a fancy binder" for only \$79. "That's less than the books and tuition for most college classes. And we offer a 10-day, 100 percent exchange allowance. Does your alma mater?" Considering that my university charges students more than \$10,000 a year, this offer seemed a bargain. (We include meals and a bed, which are not part of the computer package.)

If a microchip machine can be Time magazine's Man of the Year, the way is surely open for replacing walls of ivory with strings of Fortran, a computer language. A computer named Robot, Redford gave a commencement address last June — I don't recall whether it also received an honorary degree — so now even the few remaining ceremonial functions of college presidents may disappear. Therefore, in defense of my job and institution, I think the time has come to say a few bad words about computers.

Don't get me wrong. Blessings on all those institutions that have made a microcomputer as much a compulsory part of college living as designer jeans and fraternity paddles. My own university has just opened a multi-million-dollar computer center and prides itself that 90 percent of its graduates are computer-literate. What concerns me is that we will come to confuse the tasks that computers perform with the virtues that colleges teach. Real college teaching aims for something that can't be programmed with or without "a fancy binder."

To understand the fatal flaw in computers, consider the invention of

Dennis O'Brien has been president of Bucknell University since 1976. He also teaches an undergraduate course there in philosophy.

Computers Aren't The Last Word

By Dennis O'Brien

the clock. Once, telling time was slightly better than guesswork. When the clock came, it could outperform humans and then some. Philosophers (who else?) immediately began to wonder if clocks were intelligent. If a high performance grandfather's clock is an intelligent marvel, consider the computer that books a coach flight to Des Moines. Just because a gadget can splendidly perform some feat that taxes human intelligence, it does not mean that the mechanism acts intelligently.

It is the very speed and accuracy of computers that makes us suspect that they display no intelligence.

Human thinking is essentially at will: creative and free — and for that very reason very much subject to being bizarre, wayward and wrong. Human intelligence may choose to follow rules, follow them grumpily or invent quite new rules. "What if parallel lines meet?" asks the creative geometer who invents a new mathematics.

Computers lack a sense of humor and our assorted neuroses. If intelligent behavior is the aim of college education, computers flunk the entrance exam.

Being intelligent is not at all like doing something instantaneously or

memorizing the passenger list to Des Moines. Rather, being intelligent comprises a great messy set of performances from calculating to giggling. One can't specify exactly how many items are in the set, and there seem to be surprising but essential links between the oddest clusters of behavior. Kekulé's dream about a snake led to his invention of organic chemistry; Kepler's Christian piety caused him to discover the proper orbits of the solar system.

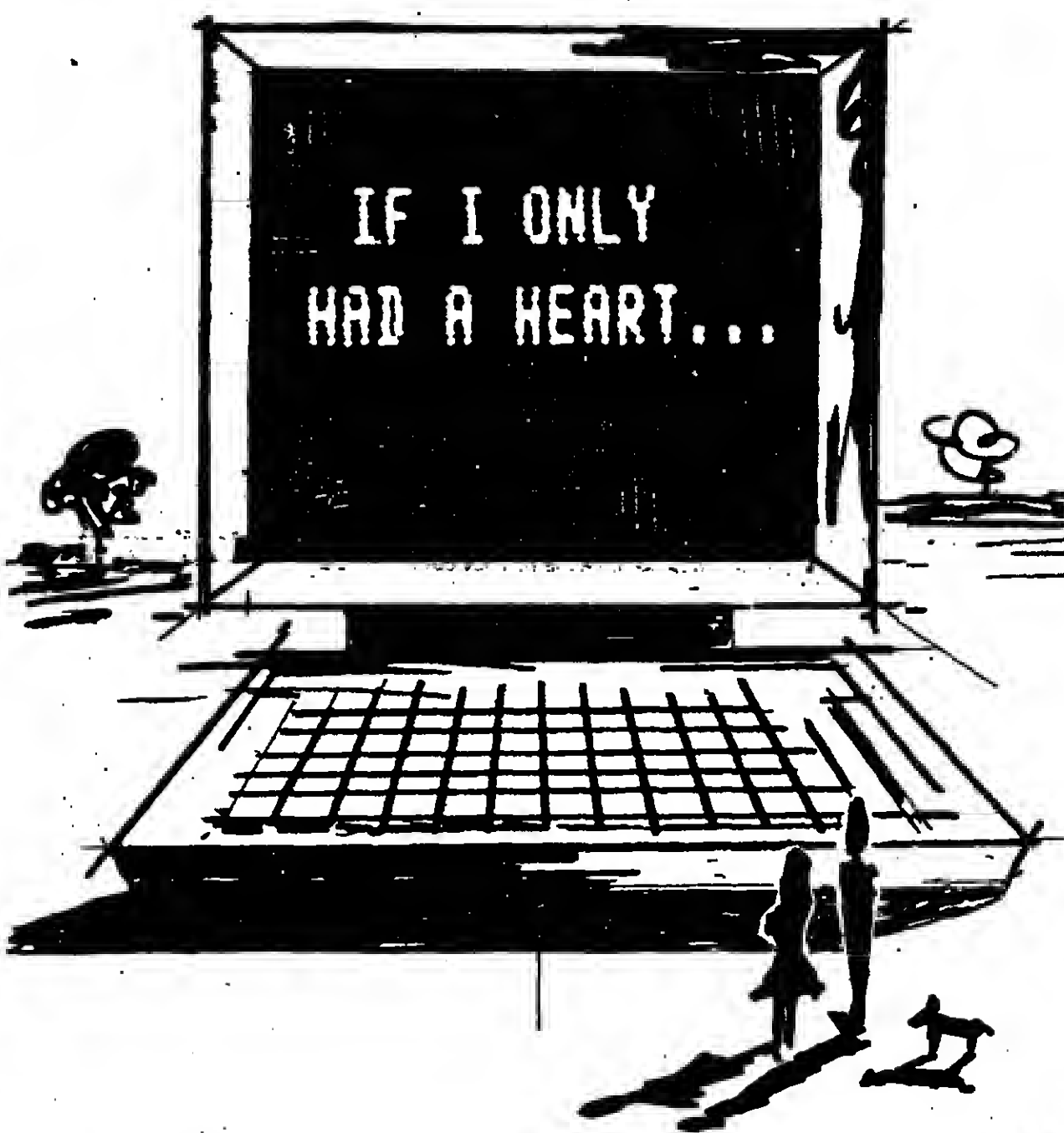
Computers, of course, are only in their infancy, and I am sure that some electronic wizard is at this very moment programming a giggling computer that solves organic equations while smoking a cigar. So be it! I am convinced that this marvel will carry on all those performances and enjoy none of them — and that is the final secret.

Human beings not only do intelligent things, they also enjoy exercise of the mind. No computer so far conceived could be programmed to enjoy its performances. Would that joy were a performance! We would then program either humans or computers for happiness. It would be a great boon to psychiatrists.

But enjoyment is not a performance. Performances (like addition) take time and can be done well or ill. But it makes no sense to ask whether I do my enjoying well or I bungle it. You can ask how long I spent yesterday doing math, but never how long I spent being happy.

The fact that humans can and do enjoy intelligent behavior is the secret of higher education. Real academic performance is the activity of an aware and intelligent person who has engaged wit, soul and mind in a task.

A college education is addressed to the person, not the performance. Enriching the human person is more than a 10-day task — or your money back.



ABROAD AT HOME

Chronicle Of Folly

By Anthony Lewis

Israel had wanted only to negotiate security arrangements with the Lebanese. But there was a larger political aim, as Mr. Shultz should surely have anticipated: a de facto peace treaty. Negotiations on that difficult subject dragged on, and the terms finally reached depended on Syria's agreement — which was not in sight.

Syria has been the subject of the Administration's most extreme self-delusion. Secretary Shultz and a people kept saying they were sure Syria would take its troops out of Lebanon once the Lebanese and Israelis agreed: a view that no one with the most modest knowledge of the Middle East could have taken seriously.

Just as puzzling was the Administration's policy of totally ignoring Syrian President Hafez al-Assad in efforts to sell the Reagan peace plan for the region. All the diplomacy was directed at King Hussein of Jordan. But Mr. Assad is a determined and effective man in defending his interests — and one who can manipulate the P.L.O. to that end, as he did. King Hussein, unable to get support from the P.L.O., finally decided not to join the Reagan initiative.

achievement, a truly amazing one, has been to anger King Hussein. It did this by vetoing a U.N. Security Council resolution that opposed Israeli settlements in the occupied West Bank.

The King, in an interview with Lally Weymouth published in The Los Angeles Times, called the veto "very dangerous and shocking." The Camp David agreements had incorporated U.N. resolutions condemning the acquisition of territory by war, he said, and a key proposal of the Reagan plan itself was a freeze on settlements. "To turn around suddenly and say that these activities, the taking of people's land, could be construed as legal is something very, very serious."

There is no easy way to solve the problem of the West Bank. But at least the United States could maintain a measure of dignity and consistency. American policy for 35 years has been based on an understanding that remains correct. Abba Eban, the former Israeli foreign minister, explained it recently:

"Partition was not a diplomatic accident when it carried Israel to statehood. . . . It was the expression of an authentic and immutable duality in the human landscape of the territory between the river and the sea. There are two nations, not one, in that area, so that any unitary political structure is bound to be coercive, artificial and morally fragile."

With the Reagan plan dead and presidential elections coming, there can be no bold American diplomacy. But the United States could press for a revival of talks on Palestinian autonomy in the West Bank: a concept that is at least a gesture toward the reality of the two nations between the Jordan and the sea.

Secretary Shultz, now so beleaguered in his office, has placed much hope on his Middle East policy. If he wants to rescue anything from it, he badly needs an infusion of reality.

WASHINGTON

March On the Capital

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, Aug. 27 — President Reagan was out of town when close to a quarter of a million people came calling here today for "jobs, peace and freedom." And maybe he was wise to be absent. For he referred earlier in this week to the demonstrators against his nuclear arms policies as "the so-called peace movement," which they regarded as a slur comparable to calling him "the so-called President."

He tried to make amends by endorsing the objective of the march and issued a statement in praise of their dreams as they gathered in the Mall to condemn his policies.

It's easy to understand why the President interrupted his vacation to address the American Legion convention in Seattle this week, and avoided the multitude gathered at the Lincoln Memorial on the 20th anniversary of Martin Luther King Jr.'s march on Washington. He is more comfortable with the old soldiers.

What is not easy to understand is why he insists on mocking the peace marchers. "Peace is a beautiful word," the President told the Legion. "The real peacemakers are people like you." Those who abuse the beautiful word "peace," he added — using two ugly words — are engaged in a campaign of "modern hype and theatrics"; and he should know, being a master of both.

There is clearly an honest difference of opinion in this country about how to get the nuclear arms race under control. The President and the Legion believe that the way to peace lies in more and more military arms, more MX missiles, B-1 bombers, and even the militarization of outer space. It would be a mistake to doubt their sincerity.

On the other hand, the marchers here in the Washington sunshine, with equal sincerity, believe that "the real and present danger" to the Republic is not the threat of a Soviet nuclear attack on the United States or its allies, but its economic and social disruption, unemployment and moral chaos in the Western world.

Both sides have something important to say, and are worthy of respect, but there can be no honest debate if the President vilifies his opposition as a lot of misguided dreamers, and his opponents condemn him as a cold war warrior who is not really interested in the control of nuclear weapons.

The facts are quite different. The President always sounds like "the boy on the burning deck," or "the terrible-tempered Mr. Bangs," but actually he has proposed more compromises on nuclear arms control than the Russians have.

He has not cut down the budget for arms control under Kenneth Adelman, but has increased it, given the disarmament organization more staff in their relations with the State and Defense Departments, and insisted that it make every effort possible to reach a verifiable compromise with the Russians and the allies on the control of nuclear weapons.

The puzzling thing about Mr. Reagan is that he says so many outrageous, provocative things in public, but acts so cautiously in private. He condemns the Soviet Union as an "evil empire" for its invasion of Afghanistan, its pressure on Poland, and even for its "godless philosophy," denounces his allies for selling gas-pipeline facilities to the Soviet Union, and then lifts controls on the sale of pipe-laying equipment to the Russians and signs an agreement to supply them with nine million tons of grain a year for the next five years, not knowing what will happen in the meanwhile.

Even Mr. Reagan's own officials complain about his inconsistency. They observe that he's in trouble with the Russians on the control of nuclear arms because he started out with one policy and has switched three or four more times.

It's not that he has a clear intention, but that he has no intention at all; that he balances the books every day, addresses his friends and avoids his opponents, and leaves everything to chance with the next Presidential election in mind.

What's surprising is that coming out of a poor and church background Mr. Reagan seems so indifferent to the conscience of the preachers and the plight of the unemployed workers. These are the people he came from, and it's astonishing that he seems to have forgotten their faith and longing.

The point about this weekend's march in Washington is to remember Martin Luther King's crying out from the Lincoln Memorial: "I have a dream!"

In many ways, his dream has been realized. Look around and you can see how black people have achieved their pride in these last 20 years, while not forgetting the many who have been left behind.

But what is our dream now? What is President Reagan's dream? What if he had stayed home in Washington this weekend and faced the crowd? What would he have said in the shadow of the Lincoln Memorial? Like Lincoln at the end of the War Between the States, would he have asked us to bind up our wounds and try to get together? And to think, as Lincoln thought, that as the world's anew, we must think anew, respecting one another, and working together?

Arts & Leisure

ART VIEW

JOHN RUSSELL

Illustrated Books Are Making A Comeback

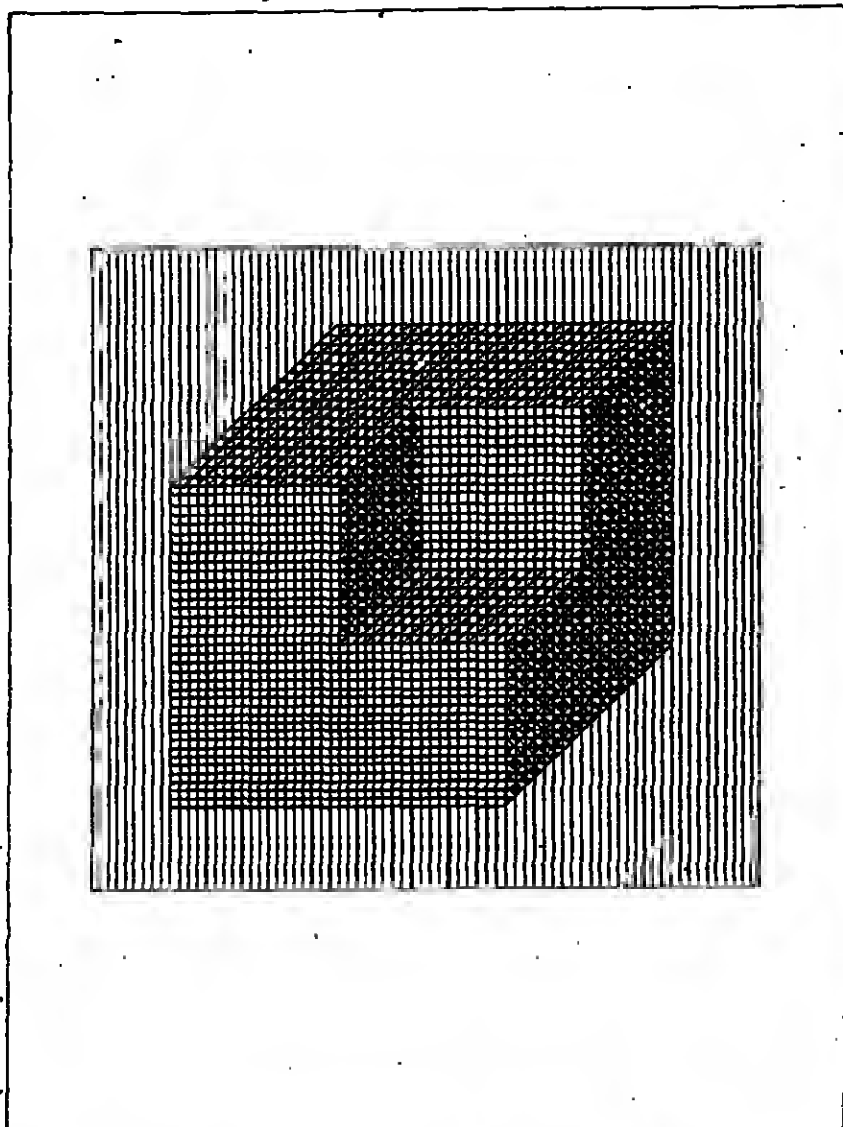
Something that is giving pleasure to a great many people is the renewed popularity of the illustrated book — or, as it is sometimes called, with a shift of emphasis, the artist's book. Some artists' books have already a classic status in their field. We remember, for instance, the ones that Ed Ruscha began to publish in Los Angeles in the 1960's, with their wonderfully offhand and unadorned titles and their no less offhand subject matter. We also remember the books in which the English sculptor Richard Long recorded his walks in one part of the world or another, and the book in which Sol LeWitt made a photographic inventory of every single object in his house and turned the end result into a form of wordless autobiography.

In the domain of general publishing we should take a look at the output of the Limited Editions Club, lately rejuvenated by its new publisher, Sidney Shiff, and his son Benjamin. Other signals abound — among them the productions of the Jargon Society, a small publishing house that operates out of Highlands, North Carolina, and the forthcoming appearance from Vincent Fitz Gerald & Company of Dame Edith Sitwell's "The Death of Venus," with lithographs by Mark Beard.

The phenomenon is international. One of the most distinguished books of our time is the edition of Samuel Beckett's "Fizzles," with illustrations by Jasper Johns, which was made mostly in Paris, published by the Petersburg Press in London, and is the work of an Irish writer and an American artist. Enthusiasts also remember the edition of the poems of Jules Laforgue with illustrations by Patrick Caulfield, which came out from Waddington Galleries in London in the 1970's, and they look forward to the edition of Dante's "Divine Comedy" (another Waddington publication) in which the English painter Tom Phillips has made not only the illustrations but a complete new translation to go with them. There, if ever, is an enterprise that rates an A for ambition.

The artist's book can also function as sculpture. This is true above all of the huge tarblack books in which private images have been not so much bound up as entombed by the German painter Anselm Kiefer. But it could also be said of a book made by the Italian painter Francesco Clemente in India, which looks as if it had been printed with vegetable juices on dried leaves from an anonymous and very large tree. There is really no limit to the potential of the "artist's book."

But whereas the artist's book is addressed primarily



Sol LeWitt's illustration for Borges's "Ficciones"—graphic equivalent for intricate constructions

to the public for high art, the Limited Editions Club books are addressed to that broad general public that can afford to spend \$100 or \$120 on an illustrated book of superlative quality that it will want to read and look at forever. The charm of the L. E. C. books is twofold, in that context.

To begin with, there is the look of the printed page. Invaluable as the trade paperback may be, its page has usually a sad and stunted look by comparison with a page on which the right print has been set by hand on the right paper with the right-sized margins and a sufficiency of air between the lines.

The recent L. E. C. edition of Seamus Heaney's poems is a case in point. The poems would read well anywhere, but the L. E. C. page has the effect of a charge of oxygen on lungs long deprived of it. The same kind of care goes into every detail of the production. When I found out that Günter Grass's "The Flounder" was to be bound in a combination of grey Polish linen and eel leather (brought for the purpose from South Korea), I felt that a sacred frenzy was somewhere doing its work.

It is L. E. C. policy that author and artist are equal

partners. But as the Club works primarily with texts that are already hallowed — examples now in the planning stage include "All The King's Men" by Robert Penn Warren, "Dubliners" by James Joyce and "The Captive Mind" by C.W. Milosz — it is the images that provide the element of novelty.

In an earlier generation Picasso agreed to illustrate "Lysistrata" of Aristophanes for the Limited Editions Club, and Matisse took on James Joyce's "Ulysses." Both turned out famously, though no one could say that Matisse's "Ulysses" is long on Dublin detail. The Shiff regime has had some snappy ideas, too — notably the choice of Sol LeWitt for "Ficciones" by Jorge Luis Borges, and of Jacob Lawrence for John Hersey's "Hiroshima."

The illustrated book in the 20th century has not been



Jacob Lawrence's illustration for John Hersey's "Hiroshima"—The artist manages to portray a world split open.

simply a subdepartment of luxury. When D.H. Kahnweiler in Paris in 1901 published Guillaume Apollinaire in book form for the first time and got André Derain to make some illustrations, he didn't go in for fancy binding or expensive paper. But the book — "L'Enchanteur Pourrissant" — is one of the most famous things of its kind.

In post-revolutionary Russia it was put together with whatever bits and pieces of paper and string lay to hand. The books published by the Bauhaus in Germany were anything but ostentatious.

So you don't have to spend a fortune even today to publish (or to buy) a book that will make history. All you need is the right idea, and the right people to carry it out, and just a touch — indispensable, this — of the sacred frenzy.

Diderot Made Art Reviews Art

By JACQUES BARZUN

Everybody knows that Denis Diderot was a mathematician, philosopher, physiologist, novelist and playwright, as well as the author of great dialogues such as "Rameau's Nephew" and the tireless editor of the huge "Encyclopédie" that molded advanced opinion in Europe for a hundred years after the appearance of its first volume in 1751.

What is less well known is that he was the first regular reviewer of art exhibitions. He discussed the Paris Salon, where painters exhibited biennially, 12 consecutive times, from 1759 to 1781, penning his critiques in such a way that the thickest mind and slowest eye would be aroused to think and perhaps to see. No parallel to this monumental work — 1,000 closely packed pages — could be cited until George Bernard Shaw, in the late 1880's, did the exact same thing.

I said that Diderot penned his reviews, because none of the "Salons" were printed until the following century. They were published, that is, made public, through an extraordinary contrivance, the invention of Grimm, a Parisian literary figure, who had connections among the crowned heads of the small German principalities, who were eager to know what was going on in the wonderful city of Paris, and who, of course, could read French. Every two weeks, Grimm sent them each a long handwritten newsletter containing report, gossip and critiques on all topics of conceivable interest to cultivated minds. The subscribers to this correspondence littéraire were usually 15 strong and never more than 30.

Yet, the news and opinion thus sent out of Paris — usually by diplomatic pouch — spread like wildfire. The educated in the Europe of that time formed a single society, and rapid communication was not hampered by telephone, television, computer or radio satellites. The upper classes managed to speak intelligibly to one another within and across frontiers. They were used to reading and copying manuscripts, and a circulation of two dozen originals sufficed to serve

the continent, from Catherine of Russia to Horace Walpole of London.

Diderot hobnobbed with painters and sculptors long before he began his "Salons." With his quite modern passion for learning how things are made or done, for prodding people with questions, he had acquired a feeling for technique by frequenting the studios, and he tried to teach his readers what he had learned.

Here, for example, is the great portraitist and pastel artist Quentin de la Tour talking to Diderot in 1769: "The more experience and ability one gets, the more one gives up that furious determination to embellish and exaggerate Nature. There comes a time when one finds Nature so beautiful, so unified, so coherent even in its defects, that one tends to prefer rendering it just as one sees it. One is only kept from doing so by old habits and by the extreme difficulty of making that rendering so true as to be still pleasing."

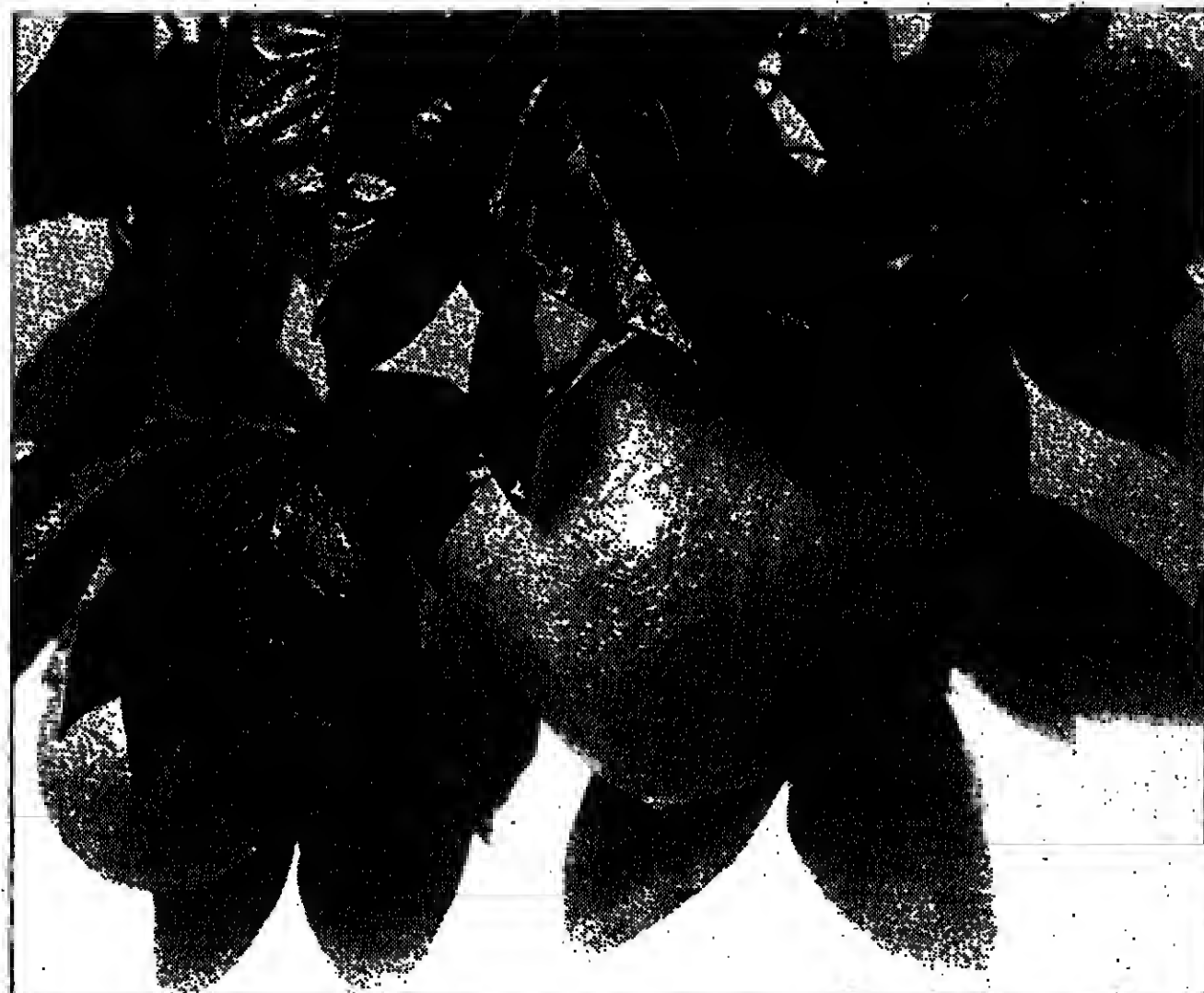
It is clear that Diderot's views evolved as he pondered the essences and qualities of painting. The man whose work influenced him most in his critical evolution was Chardin. Here was an artist who evidently much preferred to produce genre paintings over any other kind. His scenes of common life — a young girl sewing, a youth studying, a woman sealing a letter — were marvelous, extremely moving works; the technique was original in its strong yet mellow contrasts and its deliberate neglect of certain parts. But the subjects were common and sometimes disgusting, as in certain still lifes of fish or animals cut up. The Neo-Classical outlook of the age demanded "beauty," which it defined as a composite view of the best features of noble objects. But if Chardin made an ugly object into a masterpiece of painting, how could the purely social valuation of the subject detract from the merit of the work? Our critic did not merely argue the point. He shouted it with the heat of enthusiasm. Listen to this: "Oh Chardin, Chardin, it isn't just white, red or black that you mix on your palette; it is the very substance of things, it is air and light that you pick up with the tip of your brush and fasten to your canvas!" Once this magic was seen to be the true aim of painting, the irregular, the commonplace, even the ugly entered the realm of the beautiful.

Painters did not need to read the "Salons"; they heard Diderot talk, and though the "Salons" were anonymous, they may have been told that he wrote just as he talked.

For example, this is how he begins the first page of his first "Salon": "Lots of pictures. I love to praise. To admire makes me happy. I ask for nothing more than to be happy and admiring." This conversational style was combined with detailed and lively descriptions of good or bad paintings, so that in Vienna or Berlin the reader could virtually see what Diderot had seen. For the correspondence carried no illustrations. The critic was confident that (as he says) "with a little imagination and taste" one could "realize the picture as empty space and put upon it one by one the objects as I saw them on the canvas."

Together with detailed comments, Diderot meant to give his readers a complete manual of cultural criticism: They should understand the nature of painting, the meaning of art, and the condition of the artist in society. On one occasion he exclaims, "Oh, my dear friend, what an accursed race are those 'art lovers.' I must explain what I mean and relieve my feelings while I have the chance. It's those people who make or unmake reputations haphazardly; who nearly left Greuze to starve and grieve to death, who own collections that hardly cost them anything, who come between the wealthy man and the poor artist, who make the talented pay for their patronage, who open or shut doors to the gifted, who take advantage of the artist's time and toil, grabbing their best work at a nominal price, sitting in ambush between the artist's easel, ensuring his penury so as to keep him a dependent slave, who continually preach the benefit of poverty as a good to artists and writers, on the ground that if affluence were ever combined with talent and intelligence, they would no longer amount to anything."

When today we deplore for the arts the happy times of aristocratic patronage, we might remember this outburst by Diderot — and remember him again when we think that state patronage is ipso facto preferable. To some ways, their situation in the 18th century was more nearly like ours than we tend to imagine — rivalry, the mediocre often ahead of the best, recrimination and total absence of critical consensus. In other ways, we are shocked by an unexpected rudeness of manners and tone, in the artists, the art lovers, the academy and the critics, including Diderot himself, though his violence was mainly directed toward the public. Toward the artists he always showed humility.



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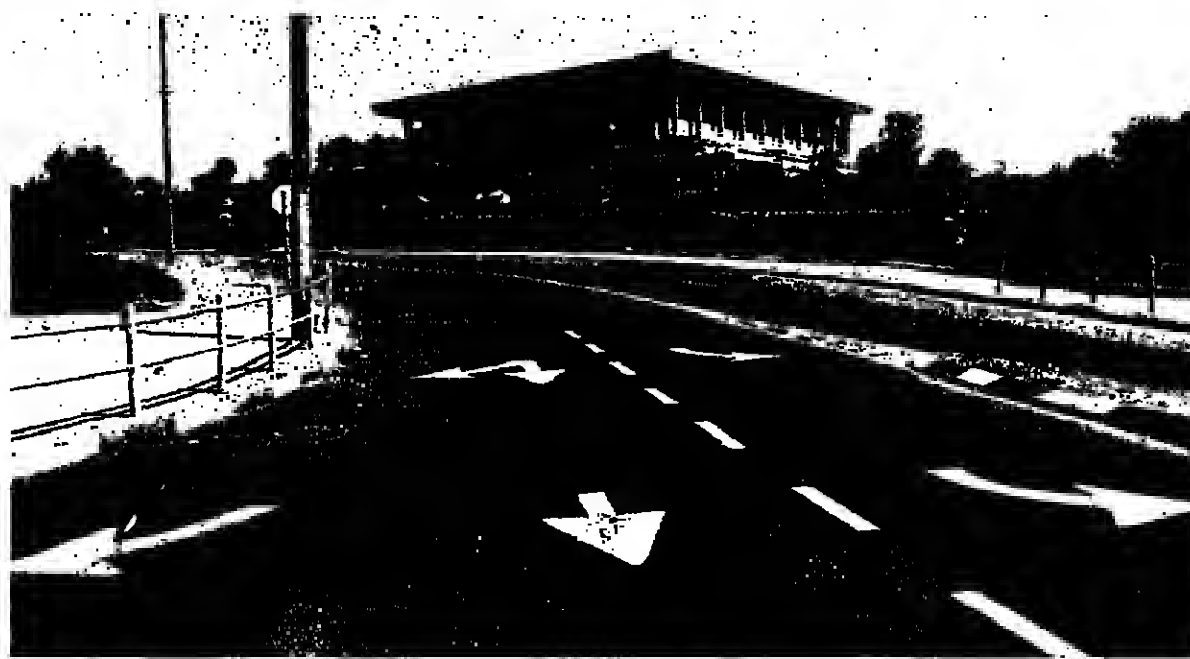
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The constitutional process

The Post's Yosef Goell examines the process that follows upon a prime minister's resignation and concludes that the most likely outcome will be an election next spring.



Alignment but a president may decide that another MK of that party, Yitzhak Rabin, as a hypothetical example, might have a better chance of forming a govern-

ment with coalition partners who might balk at the formal party leader.

The candidate chosen for the task has three days in which to inform

the president whether he accepts it or not. He then has 21 days in which to form a government and the president, at his discretion, can extend this period for a maximum of

another 21 days — 45 days including the three for consultation.

If the candidate has not succeeded in forming a government by that deadline the president may charge another MK with the task. (The law is silent on whether additional consultations must be held) or inform the Speaker of the Knesset that he does not see any possibility of forming a government from the existing Knesset.

IN SUCH A CASE the Knesset may vote to "dissolve" itself, that is to set the date for early elections, so that a government may be formed from a new Knesset that has been reshuffled by the electorate. Such early elections may be decreed by a majority of the Knesset in lieu of the entire presidential process.

In either case the outgoing cabinet continues in office as a caretaker government. The Knesset also continues to function. One of the anomalous features of Israeli law is that it is impossible for a minister to resign from such a caretaker government or for the Knesset to vote no-confidence in it.

Such a caretaker government continues to function until its successor (chosen as a result of the presidential or the electoral process) is voted into office by a Knesset majority.

This process generally takes from

four to six weeks, due to the need to baffle with (and maneuver among) a large number of opposed minority coalition partners.

In the cases in which previous Knessets have voted earlier elections the earliest date has been set at five months after the decision was taken. Part of the reason for the delay is the requirement that civil servants or army officers who wish to run for the Knesset resign from their positions at least 100 days prior to election day.

But the main reason for the delay is the desire of the outgoing ruling party to distance election day, as much as possible, from the political causes that led to the downfall of the government it headed. The assumption is that memories are short and causes célèbres change from week to week.

Factoring all these alternatives into the present political situation there is good reason to believe that it will be well-nigh impossible to form another Likud government without Menachem Begin. The greatest likelihood is that Israel will be going to elections sometime in early spring of 1984 — February or March — which is what the prime minister wanted in the first place.

What is uncertain in such an eventuality is whether the prime minister, who has given "personal reasons" as his main reason for resigning, will agree (or be able to) serve as a caretaker prime minister for another six months, plus the month or two that the post election coalition haggling takes.

IF PRIME MINISTER Menachem Begin goes through with his intention of resigning by submitting his formal resignation to President Chaim Herzog today, he will trigger two processes: that of the selection of a new prime minister and government either from within the present Knesset or by way of new elections; and the turning of his present government into a caretaker government.

Upon receiving the resignation of a prime minister, which under law entails the automatic resignation of the entire cabinet, the president of the state under Article 6 of the Basic Law: Government, is required, "after consulting with representatives of groups in the Knesset," to "commission one of the Knesset members to form a government."

Such consultations with Knesset faction heads usually take two to three days, at the end of which the president names a candidate to form a new government.

This is the one area in which the otherwise figurehead head of state possesses a real discretionary power. He is neither obliged to act in accordance with the tenor of what he has heard in the consultations nor to charge the leader of the largest faction with the task of forming the new government. He is expected to apply his political wisdom in choosing that MK who stands the best chance of forming a government that will win the support of the majority of the Knesset.

This has not been a problem in the past. All presidents have chosen

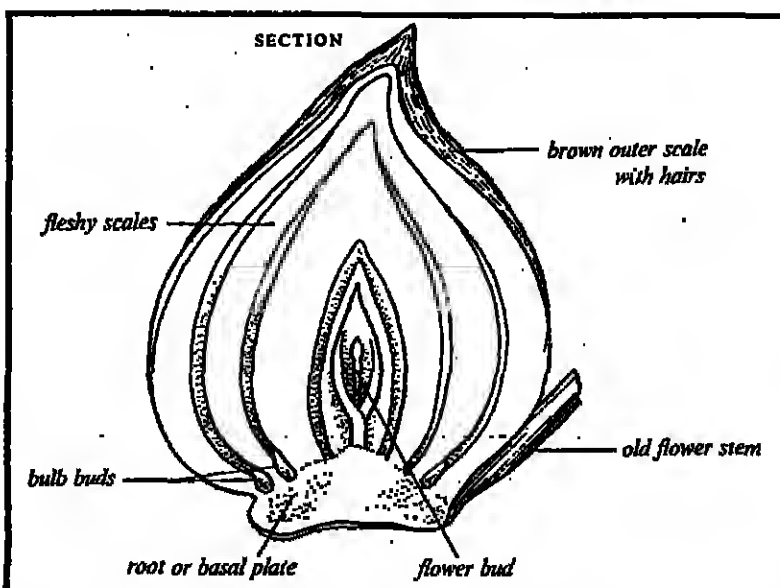
the heads of the largest party for that task, whether Mapai (Labour) up to 1974, when Prime Minister Golda Meir resigned and Yitzhak Rabin was named by President Ephraim Katzir on the basis of the Labour Party Central Committee's vote designating him the party's candidate, or the Likud's Menachem Begin in 1977 and 1981 when it became the biggest party. (In the 1950s the Progressives' Pinhas Rosen and Mapai's Levi Eshkol were chosen to form a government for David Ben-Gurion. But the law has since been changed in this regard.)

AT THE PRESENT TIME the Labour Alignment is formally the largest party in the Knesset with 50 seats (47 won in the June 1981 elections plus the addition of Shulamit Aloni and two defectors from the Likud, Yitzhak Peretz and Amnon Linn). President Herzog is also a former member of the Alignment's Knesset faction. But that will not necessarily mean that he will assign the task to Labour's leader, although in certain political situations such a step should not be ruled out, and would certainly not be contrary to the law.

Another problem which might arise in the future is the identity of the leader of a Knesset faction. Shimon Peres is today leader of the

THINKING AHEAD

GARDENER'S CORNER / Walter Frankl



Bulbs require help through feeding but not for the development of the flower bud, which is already formed when you plant a bulb (see centre above). The feeding helps the bulb buds — four are shown here, two on each side of the flower bud — which, if given proper care, will grow to be new bulbs.

hyacinths (which go by their Latin name, *muscaris*, in Hebrew); and wild cyclamen (*Cyclamen persicum*, *rakefet bar* in Hebrew).

Among the bulbs to be planted in September are three with the same name in Hebrew and English: ixias, pushkinias and montebrias (also called tritonia). Another with the lovely Latin name of *Amaryllis belladonna* should be planted in September and not be confused with the *Amaryllis hippastrum*, which should be planted in the spring.

Another group of bulbs should be planted in October and early November: tulips, (*Tulipa*, *tsivoni*); hyacinths (*Hyacinthus*, *yakinan*); all kinds of daffodils (*narkis tarbut* in Hebrew); Dutch irises (*iras hollandi*); buttercups (*Ranunculus asiaticus*, *nourir asia*); windflower (*Anemone coronaria*, *calanti*); *Fritillaria*

imperialis (also called Kaiser's crown, and *gionit* in Hebrew); and snowdrops (*galanthus* or *padmonet sheleg* in Hebrew).

From December until March, no bulbs are to be planted, but then it will be time for another large group of bulbs, which bloom in summer and autumn. This group includes dahlias, gladioli, canna lilies, day lilies and many other species of lily, as well as *Amaryllis hippastrum*, *allium*, *agapanthus*, *crinum*, *zephyranthes*, *kniphofia* (torch lily, or *tritonia*), and more.

Where to get bulbs. A bulb collection can hardly be completed during a single year. It took me more than 10 years to establish mine. I bought some bulbs in various shops and nurseries around the country, some abroad, some came from friends and neighbours. Slowly enlarging my bulb collection from season to season by the propagation of bulbets and by new acquisitions, I have developed a garden that boasts bulb flowers blooming nearly all year round.

Few amateur gardeners in Israel have amassed much experience in preserving and multiplying bulbs.

They buy new ones at the beginning of each new season. Unfortunately, local nurseries and seed shops are usually very late in offering their bulb collections, and many sell poor, third-class bulbs, which are deceptively marketed in fancy net bags with an appealing picture of lovely, colourful blooms. When buying bulbs, therefore, always choose the plump and firmest, with bright, uniformly coloured scales.

Tulips. In today's article I want to single out tulips as amongst the most popular of spring-flowering bulbs.

We Jerusalemites are proud and happy to be able to enjoy nearly everywhere in town tens of thousands of tall and low-growing multicoloured tulips, blooming from the end of February until early April. The enchanting displays in the springs of 1982 and 1983 will be repeated even more brightly during the coming spring. I have just received, reliable, first-hand information that the donors of the Dutch bulbs, The Israel Committee Netherlands, will be sending another 100,000 bulbs this season which, together with tens of thousands of bulbs left over from previous seasons, will contribute to a more colourful show than ever in our capital city.

Growing medium. All bulb flowers (tulips in particular) need a light and neutral (pH 6-7) soil, with perfect drainage. This is important with regard to garden flowerbeds or containers. In an English gardening magazine I found the following sentence about tulips: "They will grow on something as barren as builder's gravel or smashed up concrete, with a minimum of attention." This is no exaggeration, because all the nutrients the bulb requires are packed into the fleshy scales which surround the micro-flower nestling in the bulb's centre.

Given moisture, they will develop into lovely mature flowering tulips, without special feeding. Most will thrive in a degree of shade or out in the sun. All are as suitable for the garden as they are for flat roof or patio.

Everything you add to your local soil (sand or vermiculite, peat, compost, bone-meal, guano, etc.) will influence the build-up of the bulb (and bulbets) for future generations. It is therefore worthwhile preparing a well-mixed planting medium with a balanced plant food. Sporadic additions of superphosphate should be given to the growing plants and continued until the wilting of the foliage, long after the flowers fade.

House plants. Long ago I received

the offspring of a succulent plant from a neighbour. I planted it in my rockery and enjoyed the lovely small flowers which appeared on long stems in spring — yellow, pink and purple on the same stem. The little cutting I received formed a very flat rosette, consisting of about 100 fleshy leaves, which produced several flowering stems during its first growing season. After the fading of the flowers (the plant bloomed for about two months) new little rosettes appeared around the motherplant and were easily separated.

The name of this plant is saucer plant (*Aeonium arboreum*, also called *Aeonium sempervirens*, *mis-ha rihit* in Hebrew). It can be used as a potted house plant or as a garden plant, especially in a rock garden. Like all succulents, the saucer plant likes a hot, sunny place in summer and some mulch protection in winter.

I kept mine in the open garden during the severe winter of last year,

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Begin bombshell stuns stock market

Tel Aviv — The nighttime announcement of Prime Minister Menachem Begin's intention to resign his post as head of Israel's government had a paralyzing effect on investors, bank officials, investment advisers and others connected with the capital market and more particularly with the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange.

The news became public some thirty minutes before the cutoff time for placing buy and sell orders for yesterday's share trading session and provided ample time for investors, speculators, money managers and mutual fund operators to place orders for the session.

A quick sampler of the commercial bank security departments revealed that the investment advisers were stunned. "Do you think that the market will go down as a result of the resignation news?" The Jerusalem Post asked. "The market anyhow is in a downturn and it does not appear that anything unusual will happen today," was the answer of an experienced securities adviser at one of Tel Aviv's commercial banks.

As the day wore on it became clear that the Begin announcement had added to an already long-standing list of uncertainties, the majority of which are connected to economic and fiscal measures. Obviously this can only spell a continuation of the poor trading conditions on the exchange.

As it was, yesterday's trading session was an extension of the downturn visible towards the end of last week. The General Share In-

cent gains chalked up by Union Mizrahi and Israel General, Danot, First International, FIBI and Maritime Bank 0.1 were all down. Danot 5.0 was the biggest loser with a fall of 4.1 per cent.

Mortgage bank equities wound up with a small gain. Adanim was on the "sellers only" list and Merav was 3.8 per cent lower.

The index for financial institution issues was unchanged. Agricultural Bank was up by 4.6 per cent while Contractors Centre fell by 4.2 per cent.

Insurance issues traded roundly lower. Ararat 0.1 and Zur were both "sellers only." Sahar was 10 per cent lower while Securitas was down by six per cent. Yardenia 0.1 was the only one to reflect a substantial gain as its shares zipped ahead by 9.8 per cent.

The service and trade group also traded on the downside. Lighterage 0.1, Repac 0.1 and Coral Beach were all hit by 10 per cent losses.

Land development, real estate and citrus plantation issues moved slightly lower. Caesarea 0.5 moved against the general trend and advanced by 9.3 per cent.

Industrials also trended lower. Agan, generally supported by Hapoalim, was felled for a 10 per cent loss. Lodzia 0.1 continued its "run for the stars" with a 10 per cent gain. This came in the wake of last week's superb 73 per cent rise. M.L.T., Assis, Schoellera, Pecker Steel and Kalil 5.0 were all 10 per cent losers. Frutaron picked up 10.1 per cent.

Investment company shares were higher but this did not deter a number of issues from absorbing losses. Unico was five per cent lower while Neobis 0.5 was slipping by 10.3 per cent. Piryon lost 7.3 per cent.

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN

dex, without banks, was down by 0.35 per cent. While trading activity quickened somewhat, it was still a very meagre turnover — under the 15500 million mark. The Volatility Index stood at just under three, with sharply falling issues well ahead of gainers.

Twelve securities were registered as "sellers only" while not a single security was able to break into the "buyers only" circle. In addition there were 62 other securities which fell by margins of more than five per cent, while only 26 others picked up gains of more than five per cent.

The shares of the United Spinners debuted yesterday in a less than auspicious manner. The IS1.0 shares were established 25.1 per cent under their issue price while the IS5.0 shares were 26.2 per cent below their issue price.

The index-linked bond market reflected advances of 1-3 per cent. The action was consistent with the customary gains visible at the end of the month and in cover of savings schemes sold to the public during August. Trading turnover just edged above the IS350m mark.

The commercial bank shares continued along their predetermined paths. The Big Three Banks saw their shares advance by margins of 0.5-0.7 per cent, with IDB top performer in the group, and 0.5 per

Stock	Volume	Change	% Change
General A	124	+40	+5
General B	124	+40	+5
General C	124	+40	+5
General D	124	+40	+5
General E	124	+40	+5
General F	124	+40	+5
General G	124	+40	+5
General H	124	+40	+5
General I	124	+40	+5
General J	124	+40	+5
General K	124	+40	+5
General L	124	+40	+5
General M	124	+40	+5
General N	124	+40	+5
General O	124	+40	+5
General P	124	+40	+5
General Q	124	+40	+5
General R	124	+40	+5
General S	124	+40	+5
General T	124	+40	+5
General U	124	+40	+5
General V	124	+40	+5
General W	124	+40	+5
General X	124	+40	+5
General Y	124	+40	+5
General Z	124	+40	+5

Stock	Volume	Change	% Change
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COUNTRY	CURRENCY	CHEQUES AND TRANSACTIONS	BANKNOTES
U.S.A.	DOLLAR	57.6702	58.2498
GREAT BRITAIN	STERLING	86.4476	87.3165
GERMANY	MARK	21.6968	21.6243
FRANCE	FRANC	7.2101	7.2835
HOLLAND	GULDEN	19.3849	19.5798
SWITZERLAND	FRANC	26.7177	26.9862
SWEDEN	KRONA	7.3399	7.4137
NORWAY	KRONE	7.7440	7.8219
DENMARK	KRONE	6.0236	6.0842
FINLAND	MARK	10.1087	10.2103
CANADA	DOLLAR	46.8710	47.3422
AUSTRALIA	DOLLAR	51.0265	51.5394
SOUTH AFRICA	RAND	51.2988	51.8144
BELGIUM	FRANC	10.7996	10.9082
AUSTRIA	SCHILLING	30.9057	31.2164
ITALY	LIRE	36.3964	36.7623
JAPAN	YEN	236.2080	238.5820

FOREIGN CURRENCY	
Yesterday's foreign exchange rates against the Israeli Shekel, for O.S. dollar transactions under \$3,000 and transactions of other currencies under the equivalent of \$300.	
US\$	58.2504
DM	21.9440
Swiss FR	26.9828
French FR	87.5795
Dutch G	7.2804
Austrian S\$ (100)	19.5835
Swedish KR	31.9770
Norwegian KR	7.4122
Finland MK	10.2088
Canadian S\$	47.3330
Rand	51.7845
Australian S\$	51.5887
Belgian C\$ (100)	10.9124
Belgian F\$ (100)	10.8373
Yen (100)	23.8511
Italian Lire (1000)	36.7395

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Eilat 20, 5743 • Zil-Ki'adah 20, 1403

Grand exit

LAST MONTH Prime Minister Begin put off a scheduled visit to the White House for what was officially described as "personal reasons." Yesterday the same kind of reasons were given unofficially, immediately after the cabinet meeting, in explanation of Mr. Begin's decision to resign as premier, and thus to bring the whole government down with him.

When Mr. Begin declined to make the journey to Washington it was widely seen as corroboration of persistent rumours that he was ailing, either in body or in spirit or in both, and was thus incapable of properly discharging his duties as head of government. The same interpretation was bound to be attached to the premier's decision to resign yesterday. According to reports, this time Mr. Begin offered the corroboration himself.

Meeting with Likud ministers after the cabinet session he admitted that he felt he was not functioning as a man in his position of responsibility ought to be functioning.

Mr. Begin's progressive loss of grip on the ship of state has indeed been in evidence for some time now. And during the past three weeks, the cabinet's protracted deliberations on budget cuts and new taxes were conspicuous not only for the unruly conduct of ministers, even from Mr. Begin's own Likud party, but also for the premier's failure to discipline them.

Clearly Mr. Begin felt — to his credit — that the time had come for the captain of the ship, which appeared virtually captainless to at least some of the crew-members, to step down.

Startled, and dismayed by the decision, the cabinet ministers at first sought to persuade Mr. Begin to take it back. They were not successful. When it became public, pressure began to build among the premier's loyal supporters to have him reverse himself. This campaign does not seem likely to succeed either. Obviously Mr. Begin carefully considered this step before notifying the cabinet of it, and though a change of mind on his part at the last moment is not impossible, it is difficult to conceive. And once Mr. Begin submits his letter of resignation to the President, it must be assumed he will also not make himself available as the leader of a new Likud-led government. The president will then be free to ask another member of parliament, from either the coalition or the opposition, to try to form a new government.

Assuming the coalition maintains its cohesion, even without Tami, the successor to Mr. Begin will then be another Likud leader whether Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir or Deputy Premier David Levy. Such a new Likud administration will, probably, however, act to dissolve the Knesset and hold early elections.

If the coalition somehow falls apart, an alternative Alignment-led government could materialize. But such a government would also probably survive for only a few months, until new elections are held. The present balance of parliamentary forces being what it is, however, this would be a dangerous exercise. For if the Alignment makes itself dependent on the support of present coalition breakaways, such as the NRP, the Aguda, or Tami, it could end up turning in a repeat performance of the Likud script. Not much would then be left of the Alignment's claim to offer an alternative to the Likud.

The prelude to any of these possibilities will, however, plainly have to be the premier's visit to the presidential mansion today.

NEWS ANALYSIS

(Continued from Page One)

the fence from his own Herut colleagues in cabinet decisions. Last week, for instance, when Begin voted against the bank cheque tax, he found all the Herut ministers voting for the tax, as the Ministerial Economic Committee had proposed.

More than one minister opined that last Friday's television interview with Labour and Social Affairs Minister Aharon Uzan may have been the straw that broke the camel's back. Uzan described the weekly cabinet session as "chaotic" and complained that "there was nobody in charge."

One minister told *The Post*: "Uzan was very crude. He went too far. Begin detests vulgarity and the Uzan interview was too much for him. He's not used to people raising their voices at him and he's not used to being threatened and pushed around. He probably came to the conclusion that the premiership would be intolerable with Tami hanging around his neck like this."

Another minister suggested that Begin might also have grown disgusted with the Tami Puri and its aggressive tactics of late. For another reason, his feeling that MK Aharon Abuhateira was trying to get his revenge on the coalition. The reasons for Begin's dramatic decision were cumulative, all sources agreed, starting with his general state of health, the death of his wife Aliza, the problems in Lebanon and the trauma of the war casualties.

One minister said: "When (Ariel) Sharon resigned as minister of defence, Begin felt more in control of things, but that was before he realized that staying in Lebanon was such a long-term affair."

Another source recalled that after Begin decided not to visit Washington some weeks ago, he felt

relieved at being spared the strain. When his aides promised journalists that he would soon brighten up, become more active and make more public appearances, they had grounds to believe this would be so.

Begin did, in fact, resume some public activity after this, but the economic problems set him back once more.

The Post was told: "Begin realized that the economic problems were more awesome than he had imagined and the contribution which he personally was capable of making to solve them was less than he knew it ought to be. Begin also saw the way ministers squabbled with Finance Minister Yoram Aridor and the incompetent way in which Aridor managed his personal relations as well as his policies. Begin's dissatisfaction with Aridor became patent, and yet Begin knew he himself shared part of the blame, having appointed Aridor finance minister."

Science and Development Minister Yuval Ne'eman reflected Begin's opinion of Aridor yesterday in the discussion which followed Begin's announcement. Aridor rebuked his colleagues for bringing about Begin's decision by their disruptive conduct and Ne'eman interrupted: "You didn't do anything to encourage people to pull together!"

Meanwhile, in Jerusalem last night, a senior civil servant said Begin could not possibly have chosen a worse time for his move. The civil servant noted that with the IDF facing another year at least in Lebanon, with the negotiations bogged down, the redeployment imminent, relations with the U.S. and with West Germany at an important phase and the economy still floundering, Begin could very easily be accused of leaving his people in the lurch.

IT IS STILL too early to assess the effect of the bombshell dropped by Prime Minister Menachem Begin yesterday. But the resignation announcement — and the timing of the announcement itself — inevitably raises a number of questions.

First and foremost: is it for real? There is no way to answer that question until the premier decides this morning whether or not to make the short drive to Beit Hanassi.

In the meantime, we can expect the emergence of a nation-wide movement among his followers to persuade him not to step down. This tactic indeed is reminiscent of the outpouring of emotion among the Mapai faithful when the late David Ben-Gurion first resigned from the premiership in 1953.

It is reminiscent, too, of Begin's own dramatic departure from his party leadership in 1964, after his primacy was challenged by Shmuel Tamir. Then, again, he stayed in the background for about a year before once again taking up the reins.

BUT THE Menachem Begin of 1983 is not the Menachem Begin of twenty years ago. And that perhaps explains the motives behind his sudden move, which has officially been termed as personal.

The entire nation has witnessed a Menachem Begin gripped by a deepening malaise, seemingly withdrawing into himself, making only the most essential public appearances, abandoning the role of the communicator which has been his strongest point since he entered public life.

So far, the premier has kept the public in the dark as to his reasons for wishing to relinquish public office.

Over the past year we have witnessed a Menachem Begin grieving almost inconsolably for his beloved wife, Aliza. This was compounded by the mourning for 518 Israelis who fell in a war he allowed Ariel Sharon to mount and which is, as yet, an unsettled burden on the nation.

It is said in the inner circles of power that Begin has been thinking of quitting for a few days.

It may well be that the trying experience of presiding over a cabinet of squabbling ministers, with no clear economic policy in sight, came to be too much and he decided that enough was enough.

It may also be that Menachem Begin is admitting that his government is bankrupt, having drifted through three major crises — the war in Lebanon, the doctors' strike

BEGIN'S BOMBHELL

By MARK SEGAL



and the current economic

nightmare. Yet, by his very act, Menachem Begin has demonstrated to the world that, on the Israeli political scene, he remains the principal puppeteer. The timing of his move has caught everyone else by surprise and has disarmed many of his would-be heirs, who are totally unprepared for battle.

BEGIN IS LEAVING the scene — if he really does intend to leave, that is — with the same penchant for the dramatic flourish that has made Herut and, in turn, the Likud a one-man show.

He must already have sensed the shudder of bereavement among the masses of voters for whom he is the

authoritarian father-figure, and his replacement will surely try the leadership resources of his party.

Some Beginologists who saw him all along as a kind of sun king who was indifferent to the fortunes of his political creations, are not surprised that he should seem to be so ready to abandon his party in a state of such disarray.

After all, the IDF is still stuck deep in the Lebanese morass and the country does seem to be drifting towards economic disaster.

Yet such a move is not totally consistent with Begin's traditional sense of loyalty or his sense of duty to the nation.

If Begin does indeed go now, it will remain a mystery why he

decided to abandon the helm at such a risky hour. He will stand accused in the nation's history books as a leader who left to others the burdensome task of cleaning up his cabinet table, even though the record will also show his successes, notably the peace treaty with Egypt.

It is also difficult to understand why he should allow himself to be remembered as the premier who was brought down by Ariel Sharon's ill-advised adventure in Lebanon.

THE COUNTRY will now enter a lengthy period of instability, with Begin heading a caretaker government and with some of his ministers behaving as unwilling captives.

Whether the period will end in an alternative coalition put together by Labour's Shimon Peres or by new elections, held simultaneously with local polls, either before the year's end or in the spring, remains to be seen.

There is another possibility, however, that might prove attractive to the main parties: a grand coalition.

The appeal of a national unity government may be tempting, because all the parties, for reasons of their own, do not want early elections. For if elections were to be held now, the result might be exactly the same as that which emerged in 1981.

The idea of such a grand coalition, based on a minimum programme and restricted to a period of one year, might do wonders in restoring the measure of national cohesion that has been lost during the divisive leadership of the present administration.

But, of course, such a grand coalition would have to be headed by someone other than Menachem Begin if the premiership went to the Likud.

Even if such a laudable option is not grasped, Herut will still be confronted with the task of thinking what has hitherto been unthinkable — a world without Begin in charge.

It will be the test of whether the Likud does have a life after Menachem Begin, or whether it is simply a function of his political will.

Begin's departure from the political scene — and one must always remember that Begin's departure could be a temporary affair, with the leader returning in triumph in time for the next elections — does mean that his party will now have to resolve the succession stakes, even if it only accomplishes a stop-gap solution.

BEGIN'S ANNOUNCEMENT puts at a disadvantage four of the would-be heirs to the Likud throne: the constitutional stipulation that the Prime Minister must be a Knesset Member rules out the prospects of either Ezer Weizman or Defence Minister Moshe Arens at present.

Likewise, Begin's announcement has come at a time when his ex-defence minister, Ariel Sharon is still struggling to recover from the knock-out blow delivered by the Kahan Report. As for Finance Minister Yoram Aridor, his fortunes seem to be as low as the national trade deficit is high.

That leaves two rivals within Herut. — Deputy Premier and Housing Minister David Levy and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and we can now expect another round of jocular-vein politics for which Herut has become so famous over the years.

The paucity of contestants is a function of the Begin style of leadership, for Herut's history replete with the corpses of would-be successors.

Yet if the Likud wishes to remain a major political force and one of the principal choices as governing party, it must select a candidate who will have an appeal that extends beyond the core of the present Herut base.

Aridor is seen to have failed. Sharon has the capacity for evoking powerful negative reactions. And Shamir most certainly has less appeal than David Levy, who has in recent years succeeded in building up a solid base of respect among large sections of the public beyond the narrow range of the party faithful.

While Weizman remains in the background for the present, would be accurate to say that he arouses more widespread affection among a broader spectrum of voters of different parties than any other personality in the public eye.

For the Likud, with its sorry record of the second Begin administration, there might be no better combination to offer the public than Weizman, Levy and Arens (necessarily in that order), each appealing to a different section of the population.

That, of course, would be logical choice. But since when has logic played any part in Israeli politics?

(The writer is The Jerusalem Post Political Correspondent.)

READERS' LETTERS

PARTY POLITICS AND THE FOREIGN SERVICE

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, — No right-minded person would disagree with the sentiments of Walter Eytan (August 19) about the undesirability of party political considerations entering into the running of the civil service. But no one familiar with the political history of this country could give any credence to Mr. Eytan's statement that, in the old days, public service appointments were "weighted on essentially objective criteria."

I well remember a friend of mine, from among the Irgun exiles to Eritrea, trying to get into the Foreign Ministry during Mr. Eytan's directorship. He was sent back and forth till, finally, a kind person took pity on him and told him that he would get a job there only when "hair grew on the palm of his hand."

Just how many sympathizers of Mr. Begin (ever mind actual followers) were ever appointed to any office in the Foreign Ministry during the years of Mr. Ben-Gurion's premiership and Mr. Eytan's directorship?

GERSHON WEILER

Rehovot.

"LIFE STYLE"

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, — I was delighted to read the first issue of *Life Style*. I was particularly impressed to notice that the editor and most of the editorial staff are women. It was a pleasure to read articles other than those on political and economic crises.

Having lived in Israel for the past 23 years, it has become depressing and discouraging, particularly of late, to see that only shockingly negative and brutal news or crises make the headlines.

There still are law abiding citizens, honest workers, dedicated teachers and doctors, mothers with successful careers and happy, well brought-up children and youth. We need to stress this positive side of our life. It just needs a weekly magazine like this to hold up a mirror to it.

However, the quality of the paper, type and pictures should be improved.

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DANGEROUS ROAD IN CENTRAL AMERICA

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, — I have just returned from an eight-day, fact-finding trip to Honduras and Nicaragua. I was appalled to learn of the extent of Israel's involvement and support of the right wing governments of Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala. Jews in the Diaspora understand the problems of balance of trade, but many of us have been embarrassed for years by Israel's involvement with South America. Those of us who are concerned with

the basic rights, dignity and welfare of the underprivileged of the world are saddened to learn of the support and sale of arms to oppressive governments anywhere.

Israel may choose to endure the anti-Zionism that is being created in many Central American countries by her actions, but may not be aware that the people of these countries are often not sophisticated enough to differentiate between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism.

Some of the arms sold to Honduras are, as Israel well knows, being turned on the people of Nicaragua by Somoza's ex-National Guardsmen. The valiant peasants and poor of Nicaragua are fighting desperately to make their embryonic revolution work and, as these efforts are being resisted and thwarted by the counter-revolutionaries, the animosity

towards their helpers (the United States and Israel) grows.

Nicaragua may soon be forced into Russia's camp. Anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism may well pervade all of Central America if the people of each country perceive Israel as one of their enemies.

What possible advantage, other than short-term, short-sighted economic gain, could Israel get from the sale of arms? The price we all must pay goes far beyond the struggle of the Nicaraguan people to survive. We Jews who are proud of our association with the plight of the underprivileged are both embarrassed by your arms sales and dumbfounded by your masochism which is spawning anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism.

Is it worth the price?
LAWRENCE S. PHILLIPS
New York.

MISSING AN OPPORTUNITY

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, — As one who works in Upper Nazareth, I want to express my disgust and anger at the formation of the committee to keep Arab citizens from living in the town. Who do they think they are? This "holier-than-thou" attitude reflects the petty nature of people who should know better.

By excluding Arabs from Upper Nazareth, they are not only creating an apartheid society, but, more important, are missing a wonderful opportunity for our two peoples to grow and learn together. If our children have the chance to know each other, then perhaps there will be less hatred and more possibilities for peace in the future.

ELAINE GOLDSTERN
Moshav Tzipori.



Government of Israel
Committee for Year of Valour Events

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PATRON: Prime Minister MENACHEM BEGIN

The assembly will take place in Jerusalem, October 2-6, 1983.

Invited to attend are all who participated in any way in fighting and opposition to the Germans in the course of the Second World War. This includes participants in ghetto and concentration camp revolts, partisans, Jewish soldiers in Allied armies, holocaust survivors and the families of all the above-mentioned.

* Opening session on Monday, October 3, 1983 at 7 p.m. in the Yad Vashem plaza, Jerusalem, with the participation of the Prime Minister, MENACHEM BEGIN

* Closing session on Thursday, October 6, 1983 at 7 p.m. at the Western Wall plaza, with the participation of the President of Israel, CHAIM HERZOG.

* Participants will receive the Valour Medal.
* Please regard this as a personal invitation.
* Number of places limited, so please hurry with your registration.

Details and registration: World Assembly Headquarters, Hakirya, Tel Aviv 61909, Tel. 03-250128.

Those interested in participating in the opening ceremony only are requested to forward the sum of IS 150 per participant, payable to Account no. 37839512, Bank Otzar Hahavai, Hakirya, Tel Aviv.

Those interested in participating in the entire assembly are requested to call 03-654571.

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